



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

6517.0.1

Harvard College Library



FROM THE
BRIGHT LEGACY.

One half the income from this Legacy, which was received in 1880 under the will of

JONATHAN BROWN BRIGHT
of Waltham, Massachusetts, is to be expended for books for the College Library. The other half of the income is devoted to scholarships in Harvard University for the benefit of descendants of

HENRY BRIGHT, JR.,
who died at Watertown, Massachusetts, in 1686. In the absence of such descendants, other persons are eligible to the scholarships. The will requires that this announcement shall be made in every book added to the Library under its provisions.

THE
MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

WITH
NOTES AND QUERIES

VOL. XVI

JANUARY—JUNE, 1913

WILLIAM ABBATT
10 LIBERTY ST., POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y.
AND
410 E. 32D ST., NEW YORK CITY

1913

VS 13.5.4

1968-12

BOUND APR 7 1914

INDEX TO VOLUME XVI

JANUARY-JUNE, 1913

Acadians and Acadians. Rev. W. C. Gaynor.....	221	Conway, Cabal (The), Charles N. Holmes.....	148
Adams (John) and the Mitchell Map (Moses W. Ware).....	179	Coolidge, F. L., Barbara Frietchie (with Whittier letter).....	120
Alvord, C. W. Jonathan Carver Vindicated.....	196	Counties (The) of Rhode Island, Rev. Daniel Goodwin.....	66
Anne Royall, her Landmark and Monument.....	204	Crocker, Peter, Rev. Soldier.....	17
Apostasy (The) of Silas Deane (Ralston Hayden).....	95	Crosby, Lanman, Daniel Webster's English.....	200
Battle (The) of New Orleans half won at Sea. Edgar S. Maclay.....	29	Deane, Silas, Apostasy of (Ralston Hayden).....	95
Bonaparte (Joseph) in the Adirondacks (F. A. Cleveland).....	80	Drayton, William Henry.....	5
Boston and Emancipation. Arthur H. Gilmer.....	141	Eliza Leslie (Helen A. McCauley).....	161
BOOK REVIEWS:		Emancipation (Boston and) Albert H. Gilmer.....	141
Livermore's Civil War.....	132	Endicott, William, Seventy-five Years' Recollections.....	110
Niles' Hoosac Valley.....	133	Enos, David, Rev. Soldier.....	18
Jenkins' Story of the Bronx.....	133	Era of Good Feeling. Charles Nevers Holmes.....	236
Boyle, Captain Thomas (1815).....	34	Ericsson and Timby, "W. E. B.".....	122, 123
Brown, John and Henry Stearns.....	146	Fillmore, Luther, Rev. Soldier.....	18
Brown, John, letter to Simon Perkins...	36	Fitz-Gilbert Waters Papers (The) Rev. Anson Titus.....	191
Buxton, Mrs. A. S., Revolutionary Soldiers, sketches of.....	16	Flag (The) of the United States, Rev. W. E. Griffis.....	58
Candler, Mark Allen. John Adam Treutlen.....	3	Frietchie, Barbara, F. L. Coolidge.....	120
Carver (Jonathan) Vindicated, C. W. Alvord.....	196	Gaynor, Rev. W. C., Acadians and Acadians.....	221
Caswell, Beal Rev. Soldier.....	18	<i>General Armstrong</i> , privateer at Fayal...	30
Cayuga and Seneca as Proprietaries. Grace E. Taft.....	260	Georgia and South Carolina, proposed union of.....	5
Century (A) Ago "E. W. H.".....	172	Gilmer, Albert H., Boston and Emancipation.....	141
Cervantes, portrait of.....	48	Goodwin, Rev. Daniel, The Counties of Rhode Island.....	66
<i>Chasseur</i> , privateer.....	34	Gordon, Lieut., H. C. (British).....	34
Cleveland, Frederick A., Joseph Bonaparte in the Adirondacks.....	80	Gould, Levi S., Abraham Lincoln.....	9
Clift, Hezekiah, Rev. Soldier.....	16	Grant, Gen. U. S., letter to Lincoln.....	168
Clough, Phineas, Rev. Soldier.....	17		

Griffis, Rev. William E., The Flag of the United States.....	58	Maritime Construction.....	177
Griswold, David, Rev. Soldier	19	Modern Artists.....	220
Hale, Nathan, letter of	January	Municipal Government.....	92
Haskins, Benjamin, Rev. Soldier.....	19	Photography.....	46
Hayden, Ralston, The Apostasy of Silas Deane.....	95	Proposed Research Institute.....	91
Haynes, Jonathan, Rev. Soldier	19	Public Utilities.....	177
Henley, Master Commandant John D., U. S. N.....	33	Pure Food Laws.....	93
Holmes, Charles Nevers, Jackson and the Second U. S. Bank.....	49	Quotations.....	220
The Conway Cabal.....	148	Reciprocity.....	177
The Era of Good Feeling.....	236	Sociology.....	44, 137
Jackson and Calhoun.....	252	Standardization of Agricultural Study.....	88
Holmes, Francis M. (Boston), tall man. .	12	Statistics.....	45, 91, 177
Hutchins, Elisha, Rev. Soldier.....	19	Technology.....	137
		Telegraph and Telephones.....	46, 93
		Transportation.....	219
		Universal Language Bureau.....	214
ILLUSTRATIONS:		Jackson, Andrew, attempt on life of....	39
Letter of Nathan Hale,	January	Jackson and the Second U. S. Bank, (Charles N. Holmes)	49
Letter of J. G. Whittier.....	120	Jackson and Calhoun (Charles N. Holmes).....	252
INTERNATIONAL NOTES AND QUERIES:		James, G. P. R., letter to E. Ollier....	88
Advertising.....	104	John Adams and the Mitchell Map, (Moses W. Ware).....	179
Agriculture.....	93, 178, 219	Johnson, Sailing Master U. S. N.....	33
Authors and Publishers.....	178	Jonathan Carver Vindicated, C. W. Al- vord.....	196
Bibliography of Internationalism....	43	Jones, Lieut. Thomas ap Catesby, U.S.N.	31
Biography.....	47		
Book-Plates.....	176	Leffingwell, Dyar, Soldier of 1812.....	23
Botany.....	45	Leslie, Eliza (Helen A. McCauley).....	161
Child Psychology.....	94, 176	Lewis, Abisha, Jr., Rev., Soldier.....	22
Congress of Students.....	140, 174	Lincoln, Abraham, Personal Recollec- tions of, (Levi S. Gould)	9
Education.....	177	Local Historical Finds, F. B. Sanborn...	84
Electricity.....	177		
Farm Management and Efficiency....	90	McCauley, Helen A., Eliza Leslie.....	161
Flight of Birds.....	177	Maclay, Edgar S., The Battle of New Orleans half won at Sea.....	29
Genealogy.....	48, 94, 137, 178, 220	Marcy, William L. (W. G. Rice).....	24
General Periodicals.....	44	Merrill, John Lenord.....	80
General Research.....	136	Miller, Anne F., Harriet Tubman.....	169
Geography and Travel.....	46, 220		
Heating and Ventilation.....	46	MINOR TOPICS:	
History.....	178, 220	Ancient Ball Invitations.....	269
International Language....	45, 92, 137, 177		
Inventions.....	92		
Libraries on special subjects.....	44		
Library Economy.....	44		
Literature.....	219		

INDEX

v

Anne Royall's Landmark and Monument.....	204	Remnant (A) of the Acadians.....	209
Century (A) Ago "E. W. H.".....	172	Sulgrave Manor, England.....	78
Daniel Webster's English.....	200	Survivors of Death Valley.....	205
Harriet Tubman.....	169	The D. A. R.'s, circular on The Stars and Stripes.....	205
Historic Structures of Vermont.....	274	Warner, Seth, Monument to.....	83
John Adams on Tom Paine.....	130	Washington at Springfield.....	278
Last Records of Lost Men.....	202		
Lexington: 200 years.....	270	ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS:	
Poe Secret (A).....	266	Letter of Admiral Montagu (1775)...	35
Remarkable letter by Edwin M. Stanton (1862).....	165	Letter to G. P. R. James (1850).....	38
The Old Weather-Man.....	264	Letter of Grant to Lincoln (1864)...	168
Voyages of Astor the First.....	128	Letter of James Knowles (on Quebec) 1775.....	210
Washington at Yale.....	265	Letter of O. W. Holmes.....	126
		Letter of J. Fenimore Cooper to Samuel Harris (1848).....	125
Mitchell Map (John Adams and the Moses W. Ware.....	179	Letter of James R. Mallory (1861)...	125
Montagu, Admiral John, letter of.....	35	Letter of John Brown (1849).....	36
Morgan, Thomas, Rev. Soldier.....	21	Letter of John Quincy Adams to Arnold Buffum.....	212
		Letter of President John Tyler (1835)	39
Neale, Elisha J., A New England Ancestry.....	81	Parker, Midshipman George.....	32
NOTES BY THE WAY:		Passage down the Ohio (<i>poem</i>) James Kirke Paulding.....	186
Addis Albro, death of.....	208	Patterson, Master Commandant Daniel Tod, U. S. N.....	32
Barbara Frietchie's Grave.....	276	Perkins, Francis, Rev., Soldier.....	20
"Deerfield Captive" in Vt.....	280	Perry, Azor, Rev., Soldier.....	20
Famous Campaign (A), (Walker's Nicaragua, 1857).....	76	Philbert, Midshipman.....	33
Fitch, Thomas, governor of Conn., 1764, portrait of, found.....	83	POEM:	
General St. Clair's Grave.....	85	Passage down the Ohio, James Kirke Paulding.....	186
Gideon Foster, Patriot.....	276	Ponce De Leon Document (A), L. D. Scisco.....	73
Had an Adventurous Career.....	277	Princess Salm-Salm, <i>Anon.</i>	104
Jackson, "Stonewall", death of.....	84	Putnam, Xeno, W., Where Motorland Began.....	245
— Flag of.....	277		
Jeff Davis Captor (A).....	208	Rice, William G., William L. Marcy....	24
Kitson's Iowa State Memorial.....	278	St. Clair, General Arthur, grave of.....	84
Local Historical Finds.....	84	St. Lawrence, British man-of-war.....	35
Nancy Hanks' Grave.....	277	Salm-Salm, Princess.....	104
Order of the Continental Navy (The).....	78	Sanborn, F. B., Local Historical Finds..	84
Pageants—in 1913.....	207		
Rathbone, Major Henry R.....	82		
Relics of Gen. Custer.....	276		

Scisco, L. D., A Ponce De Leon Document.....	73	Treutlin, John Adam (Mark A. Candler).....	3
Seventy-five Years' Recollections (William Endicott).....	110	Tubman, Harriet, Anne F. Miller.....	169
Shields, Purser Thomas, U. S. N.....	32	Tyler, President John, letter to Robert Tyler.....	39
Sketches of Revolutionary Soldiers buried in Middletown Springs, Vt., Mrs. Antha S. Buxton.....	16	Ware, Moses W., John Adams and the Mitchell Map.....	179
Smith, Caleb, Rev. Soldier.....	21	Washington letter to Gates.....	157
Spaulding, Joseph, Rev. Soldier.....	23	Washington on Conway.....	153
Stanton, Edwin M., and Gen. Mc- Clellan.....	165	Wells-Sutcliffe-Neal Ancestry, Elisha J. Neale.....	81
Stoddard, Philo, Rev. Soldier.....	21	Where Motorland Began. Xeno W. Putnam.....	245
Swank, James M., letter of E. M. Stanton.....	165	Whittier, J. G., letter about Barbara Frietchie.....	120
Taft, Grace Ellis. Cayuga and Seneca	260	Woodworth, John, soldier of 1812.....	23
Thomas, David, soldier of 1812.....	23		
Ticonderoga Restored, "R. M. C.".....	187	Young, Robert H., Survivor of Walker's Nicaragua expedition.....	76
Titus, Rev. Anson, The Fitz-Gilbert Waters Papers.....	191		



VOL. XVI

No. 1

THE
MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

WITH
NOTES AND QUERIES

Americanus sum: Americani nihil a me alienum puto

JANUARY, 1913

WILLIAM ABBATT

410 EAST 32D STREET, NEW YORK

Published Monthly

\$5.00 a Year

50 Cents a Number

THE MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

WITH NOTES AND QUERIES

VOL. XVI

JANUARY, 1913

No. 1

CONTENTS

LETTER OF NATHAN HALE, 1775	<i>Frontispiece</i>
JOHN ADAM TREUTLEN	MARK ALLEN CANDLER 3
PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN	HON. LEVI S. GOULD 9
SKETCHES OF REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIERS BURIED IN MIDDLETOWN SPRINGS, VT.	MRS. ANTHA C. BUXTON 16
THE APPOINTMENT OF GOVERNOR MARCY AS SECRETARY OF STATE, 1852-59) (<i>concluded</i>)	Communicated by WILLIAM G. RICE, ESQ. 24
THE BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS HALF WON AT SEA	EDGAR S. MACLAY 29
ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS:	
Letter of Admiral Montagu, R. N., 1775	35
Letter of John Brown, 1849	36
Letter of G. P. R. James, 1850	38
Letter of Presdt. John Tyler, 1835	39
INTERNATIONAL NOTES AND QUERIES	41

Entered as Second-class matter, March 1, 1905, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y.
Act of Congress March 3, 1879.

Camp Winter Hill Oct. 19. 1775

Dear Betty,

I hope you will excuse my freedom
in writing to you, as I cannot have
the pleasure of seeing & conversing
with you. What is now a letter
would be a visit were I in New London,
but this being out of my power suffer
me to make up the defect in the best
manner I can. I write not to give you
any news, or any pleasure in reading.
(though I would heartily do it if in my
power) but from the desire I have
of conversing with you in some form
or other.

I once wanted to come here to see
something extraordinary, my curiosity
is satisfied. I have now no more desire
for seeing things here, than for seeing
what is in New London, no, nor half
so much neither. Not that I am
discontented—so far from it, that
in the present situation of things
I should not accept a furloUGH were it
offered me. I would only observe, that we

Dr

Miss
Bessy. Chingthorpe
New London

Bright fund

THE MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

WITH NOTES AND QUERIES

VOL. XVI

JANUARY, 1913

No. I

JOHN ADAM TREUTLEN

A search of Appleton's Am. Cyclopedia, as well as the Cyclo. of Am. Biography, Lossing's *Field Book of the Revolution*, Avery's *U. S.*; and several other historical works, fail to reveal any mention of Gov. Treutlen. Mr. Candler is apparently the first writer to give a full account of this neglected patriot.—[Ed.]

NOT much is known concerning the history of John Adam Treutlen (formerly pronounced Trittlen), the first constitutional governor of Georgia. From the Colonial and Revolutionary records, the State archives and family tradition, it appears that he was born in England, but of German extraction. Most writers have stated that he was a Salzburger, pointing out that he was an official member of the Lutheran Church at Ebenezer, before the Revolution. He is indeed named as one of the twelve deacons of Jerusalem Church during the pastorates of Rabenhorst and Triebner. His home was in St. Matthew's parish, now Effingham County, about eight miles from Ebenezer, on Black Creek and in the immediate neighborhood of Sister's Ferry. The weight of testimony is that Governor Treutlen was an English Lutheran. The difference between the creeds of the German Lutheran and the English is not marked. The former administer at sacrament a small wafer marked with a cross, in place of the bread which is used by their English brethren of the same faith. Governor Treutlen was more German than English, and he naturally settled among the Salzburgers at Ebenezer, because theirs was a congregation nearer approaching his true belief than any other then organized in the colony.

Family tradition says that John Adam Treutlen and an elder brother, Frederick, sometime captain in the British Army, came to Georgia together, from England, early in 1756. Their father started with them, but died on board ship and was buried at sea and his name or from what part of England he came is not known. It is unfortunate that we know so little, also, of the wife of the Governor. From the

Colonial Records, it appears that he had fifty acres of land granted to him by the Trustees of the Colony, in London, before he came to Georgia. In June, 1757, Frederick Treutlen applied for a land grant of two hundred and fifty acres, on the north side of the Great Ogeechee River, stating that already fifty acres had been granted him by the Trustees, and that he had a wife and three children. Frederick Treutlen and his wife were buried on Saint Simon's Island, and have many descendants in Georgia.

The first mention made of John Adam Treutlen in the Colonial Records is in September, 1756, when he applied to the Governor and Council for a grant of one hundred acres of land on Black Creek. He states in his petition that he had previously been granted fifty acres as an unmarried man, but now has a wife. When and to whom he was married is not known. He had near relatives in Orangeburg District in South Carolina, but whether he married there or in Georgia can not be positively stated. He probably married in the neighborhood of his South Carolina relatives, as he was an educated man and somewhat higher in the social scale than his Salzburger neighbors. He had, as appears from the record, a wife, two children, and one negro slave, in April, 1764. Two years later he had four children and seventeen slaves. He was granted and acquired by purchase at various times, from September 1756, to May, 1776, more than one thousand two hundred acres of land, and accumulated a considerable fortune. He seems to have had some means when he first came to the colony. Being a man of great personal courage and executive ability, he soon won the esteem of his neighbors and was elected a member of the Commons House of Assembly of the Province of Georgia, for the town and district of Ebenezer, in the parish of Saint Matthew; and took his seat at Savannah, November 20, 1764. He served in this body until its final adjournment, April 11, 1768. During this period he was the author of a law for regulating a workhouse for the custody and punishment of negroes; and of a law for establishing a ferry (Sister's Ferry) from the town of Ebenezer to the opposite bluff upon the river Savannah. He was elected and served as a member of the Eighth General Assembly from 1771-2. In February, 1768, he was named as one of the justices for the Parish of St. Matthew, and held this office four years. He was a member of the Provincial Congress, which held its meetings at Tondee's Long Room in Savannah, from July 12, 1775, to May, 1777. He was a member of the Council of Safety, 1776, and also Justice of the Quorum of the Parish of St. Mat-

threw, the same year. As a member of the Constitutional Convention, from October, 1767, to February, 1777, he rendered notable service in the framing of Georgia's fundamental law. Soon after the adjournment of the Constitutional Convention, the last week of February, Button Gwinnett, President of the Executive Council, issued a proclamation ordering elections for members of a legislature to carry into effect the provisions of the new Constitution. One of the first duties of this Legislature was to elect a Governor, Gwinnett was a candidate and his opponent was John Adam Treutlen, who was elected by a large majority, and thus became Georgia's first Constitutional Governor.

In the winter of 1776, the legislature of South Carolina passed a resolution declaring that the "strength, wealth and dignity" of both South Carolina and Georgia would be promoted by a union of the two states. A committee was appointed to go to Savannah, where the Constitutional Convention was in session, and secure the assent of the State of Georgia to this union. The chairman of this Committee was William Henry Drayton, Chief Justice of South Carolina, and a cousin of the Governor of that State. Chief Justice Drayton and his committee asked for a hearing upon the floor of the convention, which courtesy was granted, and he made an earnest appeal, assigning several absurd reasons why Georgia should agree to be absorbed by her neighboring state. He spoke for more than an hour, arguing that while Carolina and Georgia were now two states they were originally one; and having the same soil, climate, productions and mutual interests, the original union should be restored; that if they remained separate jealousy and rivalry would spring up and keep down internal improvements, common productions and foreign commerce; that dangerous differences would arise respecting boundaries and the navigation of the Savannah River; and that the value and security of property would be imperiled. He further argued that as soon as this union was established, the stability of the consolidated commonwealths would be assured; while Georgia would lose the seat of government, her increase in commerce and general prosperity would be so rapid that the mere fact of having a capital would soon be forgotten. Should Georgia refuse to ratify the proposed union, South Carolina intelligence and wealth would build a city across the river from Savannah, to attract the domestic and foreign commerce of the region, and quickly wipe Savannah off the map. His specious argu-

ment, however, failed to convince the gentlemen of the convention and his proposition of benevolent assimilation was respectfully but firmly declined; and Georgia did not become a tail to a South Carolina kite.

Soon after the induction of Governor Treutlen into office, Drayton and his henchmen circulated letters and petitions among the people of Georgia, endeavoring to poison their minds against the state officials, magnifying imaginary dangers and grievances, and urging them, since their governor and representatives would not do so, to take such independent action as would unite the two states. Petitions, prepared in South Carolina, were freely circulated in Georgia, heaping odium upon Governor Treutlen and the Executive Council. Here was presented an occasion calling for great firmness, courage and energy. Governor Treutlen met it squarely and unequivocally. Realizing that the circulation of inflammatory appeals among the citizens of Georgia was detrimental to the welfare of the state, the Executive Council requested the Governor to offer a reward for the apprehension of Chief Justice Drayton and those associated with him in this unlawful undertaking. The Governor issued his proclamation immediately and caused it to be widely distributed, offering a reward of one hundred pounds for the arrest and conviction of the offenders. They, however, had hastened to get back across the Savannah River into South Carolina and were not apprehended. Emboldened by the security of South Carolina soil Drayton wrote a defiant reply to the proclamation of Governor Treutlen and taunted him with total disregard of the rights of the people of Georgia. Ridiculing the Governor and Council, he said, "I am inclined to think you are concealed Tories, or their tools, who have clambered up, or have been put into office, in order to burlesque government (and I never saw a more extravagant burlesque than you exhibit) that the people might be sick of an American administration and strive to return under the British dominion, merely for the sake of endeavoring to procure something like law and order. I respect the people of Georgia but most *wise* rulers, kissing your hands, I can not but laugh at some folks. Can you guess who they are?" The insolent tone of this letter and the forced and hollow laughter referred to reveal the real designs of the movers in this matter. It excited profound disgust among the intelligent people of Georgia, and any hope South Carolina might have had of gobbling up and destroying the autonomy of Georgia was at an end. The prompt and energetic measure employed by Treutlen toward those who would have reduced Georgia to a state of vassalage to South Carolina are de-

serving of the highest praise, as he bore himself with distinguished valor and wisdom. Had this scheme succeeded Georgia would not have been one of the original thirteen states and there would now be no Empire State of the South.

Under the Constitution of 1777 the term of the Governor was limited to one year, without re-election.

Governor Treutlen retired from office during the third year of the Revolution. The last mention made of him in the Revolutionary records is on March 9, 1778, when he was appointed by Governor John Houstoun as one of the magistrates for Effingham County to administer the oath of affirmation of abjuration of the Crown, required of all persons in Georgia over sixteen years of age. The number of Tories or Loyalists was greater proportionately in Effingham than in any other of the eight counties of the state. Nearly one hundred families of Effingham County were banished from the state and their estates confiscated by the acts of attainder, confiscation and banishment passed by the republican legislature in 1778-82.

The Salzburgers who espoused the cause of the British were inveterate in their hostility to their Whig neighbors, and pillaged and burnt their houses. The home of the pious Rabenhorst was among the first given to the flames. Jerusalem Church at Ebenezer, an elegant brick structure, was converted into a hospital, and was subsequently desecrated by being used as a stable for the horses of British soldiers. Marauding parties of British and Tories laid waste every farm whose owner was thought to be in sympathy with the American cause. In those predatory excursions the most unbridled licentiousness and revolting cruelty were practised, and the Whigs had to abandon their homes to the mercy of these cruel invaders. Influenced by Rev. ——— Treibner, who was a rank Tory, a great number of Salzburgers signed oaths of allegiance to the British Crown and received certificates guaranteeing royal protection to person and property.

Governor Treutlen was made the victim of a systematic persecution by the Tories of Effingham county. Hoping to escape daily persecution, he went in 1779 on a visit to his relations in the Orangeburg district of South Carolina. The distance from his own home being about seventy-five miles, it is probable that he was followed there by some Tories from Effingham county. He was assassinated a few days later by Tories in a most inhuman manner, being tied to a tree and his body hacked to pieces with swords. The most fiendish feature connect-

ed with his tragic end was that he was decoyed from the block-house in which he had taken refuge, by Tories who claimed to be starving Georgia Whigs seeking shelter. This horrible crime was committed in the presence of his family and relations. His remains were buried at some spot which was soon forgotten amid the troubles of those gloomy days, and can not now be located by his descendants. Having departed from the scene of public action in this tragic manner and in another state, during the middle of the period of the War of Independence, his name and fame were soon forgotten. His oldest child being but twenty years of age at the death of his father and having no other descendant in the public life of the state, is another reason why this loyal Son of Liberty was so soon out of the public mind. He was a true patriot, and a fearless man and the state of Georgia today owes to him the debt of an appropriate recognition. No town or county now bears his name, and the General Assembly should perpetuate the memory of Georgia's first Constitutional Governor at no distant day. Many illustrious Georgians have had their names thus permanently fixed in the history of this State who do not measure up to the full stature of John Adam Treutlen. It is a singular distinction to have been Governor of Georgia under her first republican constitution. True history can only be formed from permanent monuments and records. If it is never too late to do right, Georgia should yet accord the name of John Adam Treutlen such recognition as his distinguished services merit.

MARK ALLEN CANDLER.

ATLANTA.

PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

SHORTLY after the accession of Mr. Lincoln, I was summoned to Washington to serve in the immediate office of the Secretary of the Treasury, Hon. Salmon P. Chase, afterwards Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, under the following appointment, viz:

*"TREASURY DEPARTMENT, Oct. 12, 1861.

SIR:—

You are hereby appointed a temporary clerk in this department under the Loan Act of 17th July, 1861, at a compensation of Twelve Hundred Dollars per annum.

I am very respectfully,

S. P. CHASE,

Secretary of the Treasury."

To LEVI S. GOULD, Esq.

It is history that under the administration of James Buchanan (the last Democratic President previous to the Civil War) the South was essentially "in the saddle", through cabinet appointees and able "fire eaters" in both branches of Congress who controlled the policies of a weak and vacillating old man. These men well knew the drift of public opinion upon the question of human servitude, and, with the aid of northern sympathizers, prepared themselves for the inevitable conflict, by transferring arms, munitions of war and even troops to distant points in the South, and elsewhere, to be used to the advantage of rebellious states, or at least to where they could not be readily controlled, should occasion require, by the in-coming Commander-in-Chief; and so it happened through the machinations of these men, and others high in authority, that the Secretary of the Treasury on his accession, found, among other things, a depleted treasury, to which, as an added discouragement, was the practical loss of confidence of money-leaders in the stability of a government just entering upon a civil war of vast magnitude.

*In 1862, for purely business reasons, I left the department and returned home; but before severing my relations with the Secretary I was awarded the very unusual distinction of naming my successor, who assumed the position vacated by me, in which he continued until awarded a more lucrative and responsible place in the office of the Treasurer of the United States, and while this "double" of mine finally "undid" himself, not me, it did not occur until after twenty years of able and faithful service in that department.

The events described are my experiences in 1861 and 1862.

Under these circumstances, with obligations of huge proportions staring him in the face, and no money to be obtained in Wall Street save at extortionate rates, sometimes rising as high as ten, or more per cent, the Secretary was at his wits' end to keep the government moving, and so by advice and consent of Congress and the President, acting under authority of the Loan Act of 17th July, 1861, an appeal was made directly to the patriotism of the people of the land, entirely outside the "sharks" who live on usury, to subscribe to a popular loan which was to bear interest at the rate of seven and three-tenths per cent. per annum, to assist the government in meeting its pressing obligations.

These bonds were issued in denominations of from \$50 to \$10,000, each, so that all might have an opportunity to help. They were made payable to the order of the subscriber, and his or her name was written in as the final act, after the money was received, and before it was mailed to the owner.

It was my duty to perform this clerical act, and so it happened that every dollar of this loan finally passed through my hands.

As soon as this appeal was made by executive authority, it was wonderful how people of all classes, from the humble mechanic with perhaps the savings of a lifetime of labor, as well as those of wealth and refinement, rose with a mighty response, and by this act alone, the government was saved from impending financial disaster, and furnished with those sinews of war which ever after flowed into the treasury from all sources as needs demanded. This issue of 7 $\frac{3}{10}$ bonds was the initial act which stirred the patriotism of the masses to respond when the timidity, or sordid greed, of the non-patriotic banker declined.

Individuals and societies of limited means pooled their surplus and subscribed sufficiently to purchase the bonds of small denominations, and even little children came forward with their savings to help the government. One case of this character I remember, being that of a little girl who wrote a letter which ran something like this:

"Dear Mr. Lincoln:

"I am a little girl twelve years old. Papa and Jimmy are gone to the war and only mamma and myself are left at home. Mamma heard there was no money to pay the soldiers, and so we have scraped together fifty dollars, all we can spare, and send it to you, dear Mr. Lincoln to help you out. Won't you let Jimmy come home?"

At this period I became acquainted with Mr. Lincoln. The room

in which I worked overlooked the White House grounds. My desk was close beside the window, and every time I looked out those grounds and the house itself were in full view, in fact it was but a step away from the Treasury building, and so the President in leisure moments quite often sauntered into the immediate office of his personal friend the Secretary.

After the 7 3/10 bonds were offered for subscription, he came over, I should think about once a month, sat down beside me, counted out what money he was able to spare from his salary, and invested the same in these bonds, while they lasted, or in a second issue of similar character. He waited until they were duly issued to his order, and then took them away. These formalities occupied quite a while, during which he sat with his legs crossed in the most democratic way. He was of swarthy complexion, about 6 feet 4 inches tall, gaunt, ungainly to my mind, and almost untidy, never being quite certain as to what he ought to do with either his arms or legs, which were stretched out in almost any uncertain fashion. An ordinary observer might have set him down as a typical product of the malarial districts of the Ohio and Mississippi, toned down by his surroundings, for he certainly looked it. Not that he was ugly in appearance, as the word goes, or coarse in manner, for he was gentle and gracious in speech and of an exceedingly generous and kindly disposition, as his many acts of mercy and benevolence during the Civil War amply attest. My recollection is that in some of his visits he appeared to be laboring under an indescribable air of sadness and dejection, and on such occasions he seemed to be entirely wrapped in thought, and was oblivious to all surroundings until the depression had passed away, when he was the same genial kind-hearted soul as ever. While his investments may not have amounted to a large sum, it was a sublime evidence of the truth, confidence and sincerity of the leader of his people.

In the late Fall of 1861, it was my very great privilege to witness a review of the "on the Richmond" army, just previous to its unfortunate campaign under General McClellan. This affair took place in Virginia some twelve or fourteen miles away, and I walked out and back about twenty-five miles to view it, and was well repaid. President Lincoln, surrounded by members of his cabinet, all mounted, accompanied by McClellan and a brilliant staff, from a slight hillock overlooking a broad plain, reviewed 100,000 men of all arms as they filed by, "company front" every man of them filled with enthusiasm in the belief that the Capital City of the great Rebellion was already within their grasp; but alas.

for the mutability of all human undertakings, the way which seemed to them so strewn with the emblems of victory, was wet with the blood of thousands and picketed by ghosts of the departed, ere Grant's victorious legions thundered at the gates of Richmond almost four years thereafter. During the entire review I was at no time one hundred feet away from Mr. Lincoln, and most of the time nearer. Up to that time it must have been the grandest military pageant ever witnessed in the history of the nation. It is hardly probable that many of the men in that display survived the hospitals, the prison pens, the disastrous series of battles which followed, and all others of the many casualties of war, and are today in sufficient health and vigor to renew the memories of that occasion.

I cannot conclude this experience without revealing something of its ludicrous side, although it may be "lèse-majesté" in the opinion of some of my readers in doing so—but it should be remembered that I am trying to describe this immortal man as I saw and remember him, and so when I compared the erect and martial appearance of General McClellan as he sat astride his charger, looking every inch a soldier, with that of the Commander-in-chief, his regulation "stove-pipe hat" of vast proportions, surmounting a wealth of scraggly whiskers and unkempt black hair, the whole resting upon a loose-jointed, gaunt form, towering above everyone else in sight, while his long, bony and skinny legs, swayed around, under and about his horse in a fashion that was mirth-provoking in the extreme. Wicked though it is, I cannot choke down a laugh at this day, though it happened fifty-one years ago, Mr. Lincoln looked so much like a scare-crow on horseback!

In this connection another incident occurs to me, showing his delight in a little joke, as well as the democratic side of his character. Everyone acquainted with Mr. Lincoln knew how much he prided himself on his muscular build and 6 feet 4 inches of stature, and so it happened that at one of his public receptions, there appeared in line a man of similar height and build, named Francis M. Holmes, a prominent manufacturer of Boston, with whom I afterwards became associated. He towered above every other visitor. While being introduced, the President said to him "Step out of the line and let us measure up back to back and see which is tallest." Much to his delight, the advantage was slightly in favor of Mr. Lincoln, who said, "Holmes, you are a pretty good-sized man to be raised on baked beans and brown bread. I advise you to go back to Boston and continue the diet and perhaps some day, if you do well, you may be tall enough to get the laugh on me."

The great personal charm of this most wonderful man, as I remember him, laid in a pair of deep-seated expressive grey eyes and a brow of such commanding proportions that all personal peculiarities and eccentricities of manner faded away, as you looked into a countenance lighted up with the power of genius as he spoke in serious tone of some important affair of state, or emphasized a ridiculous proposition by a mirth-provoking story, related in his own inimitable way, or by some quaint bit of humor perhaps a trifle too broad and sarcastic to be used in the ordinary drawing room. One of this sort is remembered as the wittiest rejoinder I ever heard, but it savors a little too strong of the vernacular of the "cross-roads grocery" to publish as an anecdote of the Great Emancipator.

This wonderful man possessed an individuality which permitted him to descend to the level of the commonest sentiments of the commonest people, or to rise to the loftiest heights of human thought in an inspiration like that at Gettysburg, a classic in our tongue, and one of the most sublime efforts in the literature of mankind.

Some years ago a brilliant literary critic discussing the merits of Wendell Phillips, one of the most distinguished of American orators and a fearless and eloquent advocate in the abolition of human slavery, said:

"It is the greatest of oratorical triumphs when a supreme emotion, a sentiment which is to mould a people anew, lifts the speaker to adequate expression. Three such scenes are illustrious in our history; that of Patrick Henry at Williamsburg, of Wendell Phillips in Faneuil Hall, of Abraham Lincoln at Gettysburg; *three*, and there is no *fourth*. They transmit unextinguished, the torch of an eloquence which has aroused nations and changes the course of history."

I have seen many pictures of Abraham Lincoln (some little better than caricatures) which were professedly correct, but only one that to my mind really represented him as he sat in my presence during the personal interviews I have tried to detail. That is the one known as the Rice portrait.

There is still another personal incident which comes to my mind and is perhaps worthy of notice although it does not relate to Mr. Lincoln. About the 22d of November, 1861, it became necessary to transport from the Treasury the amount of \$500,000 to be used in paying the soldiers, etc., operating in the Mississippi River campaign under General Grant. After a consultation it was deemed advisable to trans-

port this large sum by a special messenger and I, with another, was detailed by the Secretary to perform this hazardous undertaking which it was agreed must be secretly done, otherwise the chances of a safe arrival at the place of destination would not be worth a "picayune."

We were to travel as special agents of the Post Office Department and had orders for transportation over any mail route in the service, by any kind of conveyance. Armed with this authority and an order on the Sub-Treasury in New York for this large sum, we procured it from the vault in Wall Street, and packed the same in two canvas mail bags (\$250,000 in each), threw them into a mail wagon and rode with them (on the top of other mail) to the station of the Erie Railroad, at Jersey City. Here we transferred them to the mail car and the train started at about nine P. M. We rode all that night, the sole occupants of this car, lying on the top of a promiscuous mass of mail matter each with a bag as a pillow.

On the night of the following day we arrived in Cleveland at about midnight and as there was no conveyance, were obliged to "tote" this half million dollars (\$250,000 on the shoulders of each, which was all we could stand up under) across the lowest and worst part of the city in the dead of night. Our only safety was the thought of those who met us that we were only mail clerks transporting letters to soldiers in the field. Had the crooks which infested that territory in those days surmised the truth of the contents of those bags, we would have had no more chance of life than a canary bird in a typhoon, and the same might be said of the dangers surrounding us at every turn, especially after our arrival in the then military camp of Saint Louis, where we were transferred to a Government steamer and ran the blockade of the Mississippi, escaping Jeff Thompson and his gang by a hair's-breadth, as he sank the preceding vessel, and finally arrived at the camp of General Grant on the 28th of November, 1861, just after the unfortunate battle of Belmont Landing, where he suffered his first and as far as I know his only defeat, but fortunately the rebels did not know how near they came to capturing him and so failed to catch the wily old fox, as they might have done had they been informed of the exact situation.

I have always counted the dangers of this trip as equal to those of service in the field. This was an early attempt of the government to transport money to the then "Far West" and was not continued (by

special messenger) owing to perilous conditions surrounding the method, some of which I have endeavored to detail. I suppose my story is chiefly interesting from the fact that few men are living, and active factors in the community today, who really knew Mr. Lincoln. It has never been published before, and would not be now, save for the solicitation of the Editor of the MAGAZINE.

LEVI S. GOULD.

MELROSE, MASS.



SKETCHES OF REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIERS BURIED IN MIDDLETOWN SPRINGS, VERMONT

A good example of the painstaking labors of the D. A. R. in locating the graves of the forefathers and preserving the record of their deeds.

GIDEON BUEL

Served as a Revolutionary soldier and drew a pension for that service. Born 1764—died November 20, 1836.

HEZEKIAH CLIFT

Born in Preston, Conn., December 4th, 1761—died Oct. 10th, 1822, in Middletown, Vermont. Enlisted from Preston, Conn., in Capt. Averill's Company, 1781, Fourth Regiment Continental Line. (See Town Records of Preston, Conn., from whence he came, first to Ira, Vermont, and paid for land in pounds, shillings and pence.) He was of both Puritan and Revolutionary stock as his ancestor William Clift came over in 1630 to Plymouth Colony, and one of his grandmothers (five removes) was the daughter of Richard Warren of the *Mayflower*. His father, Amos Clift, was a recruiting officer and held various other offices of trust and responsibility, but as he had a large family he was forced to remain at home. He had four sons in the war, three of whom were Majors in the Revolution. The three settled after the war in Cherry Valley, New York. As soon as old enough Hezekiah Clift enlisted, but as it was near the close of the war his service was short. These facts are from the town records of Preston, Conn. He was a strict observer of Puritanic laws concerning Sabbath day observances; a man of great force of character and one of the most scrupulously neat and orderly men who ever bore the discomforts of pioneer life. He married Lucy Walton, a granddaughter (four removes) of Rev. William Walton of Marblehead, Mass., and died in 1822 at the age of sixty-one. He left a large family, most of whom went to western New York and located in the vicinity of Buffalo.

PETER CROCKER

Born in Barnstable Mass., Jan. 11th, 1758—died Feb. 7th, 1846, in Middletown Springs, Vermont, drew a pension. Served in Capt. Micah Hamblin's Company, Col. Hallett's Regiment from Barnstable, Mass. This regiment was for the space of three months, ending July 27th, 1780, detached to assist the Continental army in the state of Rhode Island. (See records Barnstable, Mass.) From which town he came to this part of the country.

He was a sea captain between the close of the war and his migration "up country," where he came through the dread of a sea life for their six sons, but through a strange fatality only one lived to arrive at the age of twenty-one and he "went west" before the days of canals, even, and through some miscarriage due to the uncertainties of mails at that early day, was never heard from. Peter Crocker was a deacon in the Congregational Church and a grandson (four removes) from Deacon William Crocker who came to Barnstable, Mass., in 1630. His wife was Hannah Young, whom he married in 1791, she was a descendant of Peregrine White, the child born on the *Mayflower* on its first voyage. He died Feb. 7th, 1846, aged 88 years and 27 days. Peter Crocker was also a grandson (four removes) of Thomas Hinckley, who was Governor of the Plymouth Colony for eleven years. (See records of Barnstable, Mass.)

PHINEAS CLOUGH

Though eccentric was a man of good material for a new country. If anything was necessary to be done which required great exertion, he was not the man to avoid the responsibility. He was a member of the Congregational Society but not of the church, and on one occasion he came to the rescue of what seemed a hopeless but to him an important measure, offering to pledge his farm, if necessary, rather than have this measure fail, as he was sensible that property was of no account unless the institutions of religion could be sustained. It is almost needless to add that he prevailed and the measure was carried. He died Sept. 24th, 1809. He left but one child, who married Erasmus Orcutt and settled in Middletown. Her only living descendant in 1867 was Phineas C. Orcutt of western New York.

BEAL CASWELL

Born in East Mansfield, Mass., Jan. 21, 1738, and died in Middletown, Vt., Nov. 22, 1826. Moved from Mansfield, Mass. to Middletown, Vt., in 1786. Service 1776—1780. Enlisted in Mansfield. Private in Capt. Samuel White's Company West Side Minute Men of the Fourth Bristol County Regiment, service in New York, in campaign of 1776, July to October. Also in the company of Capt. Benjamin Bates of Mansfield, service in New York in 1780 at Claverack on the Hudson with the Continental Army. References: Elijah Dean's Record as First Sergeant of Capt. White's Company in New York, 1776. Roll of the Company of Capt. Benjamin Bates with the Army in New York, June 22, 1780. Roll sworn to by Capt. Bates: on record at Mass. State Archives, State House, Boston. Vol. 17, page 103, Revolutionary Rolls. The record of Elijah Dean, Sergeant of Capt. White's Seventh Co. of West Side Minute Men is now the property of Miss Alleta Dean, of the University of Madison, Wisconsin.

Beal Caswell's father, John Caswell, was drummer in Second Co. of foot of Norton, North Precinct, now Mansfield, 1757. His grandfather, Lieutenant John Caswell, received his commission under George II. and served in the Capt. Breton expedition in 1745. Lieut. John Caswell's father was Thomas Caswell the immigrant of 1636.

DAVID ENOS

Born 1750—died June 16th, 1843 in Middletown Springs, Vt. Served in both Revolution and 1812 Wars. Was in battles of Flatbush, New Brunswick, Scotch Plains, Fort Montgomery, Stony Point, Staten Island, Retreat from New York and in "sundry other battles." Served seven years in the Revolution.

LUTHER FILLMORE

Was born 1749—died Feb. 9th, 1809, in Middletown Springs, Vt. He felled the forest where the village now is. His grandson once told Judge Frisbie that he was the brother of the grandfather of Millard Fillmore, President. He was a sensible man and a good citizen, with the public interest ever at heart. His house was near the one now occupied by Mrs. Eugene Grey. He owned one hundred and fifty acres which included the present limits of the village and deeded the old burial ground to the town Sept. 30th, 1787. He was the first innkeeper in town.

DAVID GRISWOLD

Served in the Revolutionary War, drew a pension.
Born 1750—died December 10th, 1842.

ELISHA HUTCHINS. 1812

Served in the War of 1812 from Vermont.
Born 1791—died October 12th, 1852. (See Vermont records.)

JONATHAN HAYNES

Was born in Massachusetts. He came to Bennington, from Haverhill, Mass., before the Revolution. His name appears on the roll of Captain Samuel Robinson's company, which is still preserved. He was severely wounded the first day of the battle of Bennington. While the Americans were falling back to take a more advantageous position, a musket ball struck him under the left shoulder blade, passed through his body, and came out at his right breast, and passed through his right arm near the wrist, which was at the time extended in the act of ramming down the cartridge in his gun. He was found not long afterward by those gathering up the wounded but he told them that he could only live a short time at the best and they had better give their assistance to those who could be saved. They left him, but on returning several hours later to pick up the dead they found him still alive, and incredible as it may appear he recovered and assisted in laying the foundations of this town. He was never very strong after his recovery, but by good management was able to accumulate quite a property. Frequently held town offices, was a member of the Baptist Church, was chosen one of its deacons but declined on account of physical weakness. He died in Middletown May 18th, 1813, at the age of fifty-nine, almost thirty-six years after his terrible wound at Bennington.

BENJAMIN HASKINS

Was from Norwich, Conn. Born 1754—died in Middletown Springs, Vt., 1824. Was in the battle of Bennington. Though somewhat erratic he was a useful man to society in his time. He was a member of the Congregational Church and a sober, sedate, though eccentric man, and was called Deacon Ben, though he never held that office. Though to appearances a dull, slow man, yet when occasion

required he proved himself powerful and resolute. On one occasion while driving some cattle from Pawlet to his home, near where the Deacon Haynes house stands, he was set upon by a pack of fourteen wolves. He prepared himself on their approach with a strong cudgel and succeeded in driving them off, and bringing himself and cattle away unharmed. He was a kind and obliging neighbor and zealous in all good works.

AZOR PERRY

Born in Orange, Conn., 1755—died in Middletown Springs, Vt., Nov. 15th, 1824. He was in the battle of Bennington and in one or two other engagements early in the war. Numerous good stories are told of his encounters with bears and wolves, during his first years in Middletown. He acquired a good property and though not a church member he was a member of the Congregational Society and gave liberally for the support of religious institutions.

FRANCIS PERKINS

Born 1758 at New London, Conn.—died in Middletown Springs, Vt., Dec. 26th, 1844. Drew a pension. Was an upright man, mild in his deportment, firm and inflexible in his principles and was never known to deviate from what he regarded as honorable, just and right. In this respect he was like most of the early settlers, and like them had to encounter hardships and deprivations which it is impossible for us at this age of comparative luxury to realize. As for example, subsisting chiefly during the first summer on "greens" and wild leeks and hailing the first green pumpkins eagerly as something that could be boiled and eaten as a change in their scanty diet. Obtaining a bushel of wheat, for labor, from Azor Perry, who was a little better provided than the others, but had little to spare, he took it immediately to the mill which had just commenced operations, and on his return to his home with it on his back late at night he found his doorless cabin deserted, and considering a search in the darkness as useless he contented himself as best he could until the next morning, when, as soon as daylight, a neighbor brought him the welcome information that his wife and child had sought refuge with them, from a bear that had followed a pig to their doorway but after standing for some moments with its head under the blanket that took the place of a door, had withdrawn, probably re-

pelled by the bright firelight, that filled the cabin. As a safeguard against further intrusion he rolled logs up against the doorway, while he went to Pawlet, eleven miles away, and brought thence on his back, boards from which to build a door. He served as a soldier during the entire Revolution.

THOMAS MORGAN

Came from Kent, Conn., born 1753—died Dec. 3rd, 1847, in Middletown Springs, Vt. Was in the Battle of Bennington. He made the first clearing and completed the first framed house. A man of good judgment, well informed, and always kept himself familiar with all the affairs of the town. He was for many years a justice of the peace; represented the town in 1838 and very often held the office of selectman, and other offices.

PHILO STODDARD

Born 1759—died in Middletown Springs, Vt., April 6, 1850. Drew a pension. (See Vermont State records.)

SERGEANT CALEB SMITH

Born 1748, probably in Conn. Died Feb. 10th, 1808, in Middletown Springs, Vt. The records at Montpelier show that he was made a sergeant July 1st, 1776, served twenty-eight days and marched twenty-eight miles, receiving therefor two pounds, thirteen shillings and nine pence. From June 28th, 1777, served twelve days, marched forty-five miles for which he received one pound, fourteen shillings. From October 20th, 1780, he served ten days, marched fourteen miles and received eighteen shillings. Discharged October 29th, 1780. Tradition has it that he shod Burgoyne's horse, also that while on a scouting expedition he was overheard praying within the enemy's lines so lustily and effectively, that he was left unmolested, as those who heard him said that no man who prayed like that would do any harm. He was of great service in founding the Baptist Church in Middletown, was its first moderator and first deacon; the latter office he held until his death. He was the first town treasurer.

CAPTAIN JOSEPH SPAULDING

Was born in Middletown, Conn., about 1744, served in the Revolution from there, and came to Middletown Springs, Vt., at about the age of thirty-six and died here Feb. 25th, 1840. He held some office in his regiment that ranked with lieutenant, and for a while performed the duties of adjutant. Shortly before his death he was able to read without glasses and it is said of him that "his eye was not dim nor his natural force abated" when he died at the great age of ninety-six years. Many of his grandchildren and several great and great-great grandchildren are still living here. He was the leading man in getting the town established, was the surveyor who located the lines and gave the town its name and was very properly elected its first representative. He taught the first school in town and in all about forty "winter schools" the last, when he was over seventy-five. He was the first Captain of militia in town.

ABISHA LEWIS, JR.

Was born in Hingham, Mass., July 1755—died in Middletown Springs, Vt., March 28th, 1828. Appears rank of private on Muster Roll, Captain Jotham Loring's Co., under command of Captain Charles Cushing after June 22, 1775. Colonel John Greaton's regiment dated Aug. 1, 1775. Enlisted April 27, 1775. Time of service three months twelve days. Town to which soldier belonged Hingham Vol. 14:61. Abisha Lewis appears with rank of private on company return of Captain Charles Cushing's Co., 36th Regiment, dated Fort No. 2, Oct. 5, 1775. Vol. 56: 247. And also appears with rank of Sergeant in Captain Wilder's Co., Colonel Dike's regiment, served from Dec. 13th, 1776, to March 1, 1777. Reference is also found in record index to Revolutionary Rolls of Massachusetts of service rendered by him of Hingham on the alarm of Lexington, April 19, 1775. Abisha Lewis appears as a drummer in Captain Stower's (Seacoast defence) Co. from May 25th to Nov. 30th, 1776. He married in Hingham, Mass., March 23, 1779, Deborah Wilder, born Oct. 23, 1759. She died in Wells, July 10, 1836, and is buried in East Wells. He lived in Hingham until after the Revolution when he removed to Vermont and settled in Tinmouth, adjoining Ira.

DAVID THOMAS, 1812

Born 1776—died in Middletown Springs, Vt., Jan. 3rd, 1878.
Was a drummer for a short time in the War of 1812.

JOHN WOODWORTH, 1812

Was born 1792—died Feb. 24th, 1846, and the records at Montpelier show that he served as a private in the war of 1812. This term of enlistment extended from April 24th, 1813, to April 23rd, 1814. He was sick at Burlington and unable to sign the pay roll.

DYAR LEFFINGWELL, 1812

Born at Norwich, Conn., Oct. 5th, 1770—died at Middletown Springs, Vt., Dec. 5th, 1821. He married Hannah Waterman at Norwich, Conn., June 7th, 1796. Moved to Middletown, Vt., in 1798, and bought the farm now owned by Henry Copeland and lived there until his death. Received land bounty for service in war of 1812. (See Vermont State records.)

For the historic account of eleven of these, thanks are due to the History of Middletown, Vt., published by Hon. Barnes Frisbie, of the others, Peter Crocker and Hezekiah Clift were grandfathers of Antha Clift Buxton, the compiler of these notes, also ancestors of many others in this vicinity and several in this chapter.

ANTHA C. BUXTON.

MIDDLETOWN SPRINGS, VT.

THE APPOINTMENT OF GOVERNOR MARCY AS SECRETARY
OF STATE, 1852-1859

(Continued from March, 1812)

LETTER OF W. L. MARCY TO JOHN V. L. PRUYN

Confidential.

Savannah, Dec. 10, '52.

My dear Sir:

I am much obliged to you for your three letters of the 23 and 27 ult. & the 1st inst. I am glad that Mr. Corning and Mr. Seymour visited Genl. P., and they got as much from him as I expected they would which was about as much as he told me. Let what will be done for Dickinson by his friends, he will not reach a seat in the Cabinet. Genl. Dix has a better chance—though that is not a good one. Though success for me grows less and less desirable, every day is as fair as when I last saw you. Col. Thomas writes to me that indications in N. Y. seem to point to O'Connor rather than Dickinson, and that all the leading b—rs do not concur in the policy of pressing Dix. D's course in '48 has thrown him back further than he and his warm friends are aware of. The objections to him will be more formidable as his name becomes more prominent. A strenuous adherence to him by his friends is much more likely to result in having the state passed over than in his appointment. You mention that Redfield and Dayton are committed for Dickinson. I did not expect that of R. but I did of D. The latter visited me a day or two after the election and asked me to give him a letter recommending him for *Marshal* of Northwestern N. Y. I declined in as gracious a way as I could to comply with his request, and I thought at the time he was not well satisfied with the reasons I offered for my course. I made him Judge against the sentiments of the bar of his whole district, and was not very well satisfied that I ought to have done so. He thought I could have given the P. O. at Lockport to his brother-in-law, and expected I would do it. That disappointment made him oblivious of the past favors. In our Rome Convention he occupied the position of a Proviso man and freesoiler, yet he goes for D. very well. O'C. got more votes than he ought to have had for Prest. of the Elec-

toral College; but the more will not strengthen him for a Cabinet appointment. If he really did, as is by some alleged, vote for Genl. Harrison in 1840, that and his Castle Garden association will be unsurmountable obstacles in his way.

I have not heard from Seymour, and however much I wish to do so I do not expect he will find time to write me. He has arduous labors to perform and he is pretty well worn out by his campaign services. His remarks at Tammany Hall were excellent. He certainly has a great deal of talent—is a *useful* and now almost a *necessary* man for our party. He must have all the assistance that can be given to him. I have a better account than I expected from Cutting. I think he means to play the *right sort* of game but will not play it well. He is not bold enough. You can show this to Mr. Corning. Indeed I mean it for both of you.

Dix will find it difficult to make all the b——rs stand firm for him. The expectants of that section are not wise for themselves to urge him. His appointment was to pay off a large amount of their claims, but it will not do to suggest this to them.

I shall leave here tomorrow for Florida; but I shall be only one day's remove by mail from this place. I hope you will continue your favors. Letters directed to Jacksonville, Florida, will reach me.

With kind regards to your wife, I am, truly yours,

W. L. MARCY.

FROM JOURNAL JOHN V. L. PRUYN

January 18, 1853. I left for Concord to see General Pierce again on the subject of the member of the Cabinet from our state. Governor Seymour and Mr. Corning were desirous that I should go. Had two interviews with General Pierce which were quite free and full. Although he did not say whom he would appoint, and indeed left the matter quite open, not meaning as he said to promulgate his cabinet until the 4th of March, I came to the conclusion that he intended to ask Governor Marcy to take the State Department. General Pierce asked me for Governor Marcy's address (he being south), which I sent him on my return. I was satisfied from this and other things that the matter was settled in his own mind.

LETTER W. L. MARCY TO JOHN V. L. PRUYN

St. Augustine, Jan. 19th, 1853.

My dear Sir:

I have just received your letter of the 10th and have only time for a short reply before the mail goes out. I know probably less than you do in regard to Cabinet matters. I should conclude from what I hear that Genl. Dix or some of his friends have got what they regard as an assurance that he is to be in it. I feel greatly obliged for the deep interest my friends have taken in this matter in my behalf; but I would not have them press their solicitations too far. I do not want to be forced upon Genl. Pierce. What comes to me I desire should be a free-will offering. It is evident Hunter has declined. This does not look well. No one will feel well if he regards himself as Hobson's choice. I do not exactly understand the renewed efforts for Dickinson. It cannot be that any door of hope has opened to him. His efforts will not be unfavorable to the issue between Genl. Dix and myself, if that is still an open question. When the question is fairly presented I think it best to quietly await the issue.

I have not yet determined upon the time of my return. I have been urged to be at Washington as soon as I can go there, but I have made up my mind not to go there until the Cabinet question so far at least as respects N. Y. pretensions, is settled. I have not time to give reasons for such a determination, but most of them will readily suggest themselves to you.

I have seen the Governor's message and am delighted with it. It is uncommonly able. I have also seen the Comptroller's report, that too is an excellent document. If our Legislative friends will do their duty Seymour will give us a glorious administration. I hope Genl. Pierce will begin as auspiciously.

Present my kind regards to Mrs. P. and to Mr. and Mrs. Corning.

Yours truly,

W. L. MARCY.

LETTER FROM W. L. MARCY TO JOHN V. L. PRUYN

Savannah, Feb. 9, '53.

My dear Sir:

I was here more than a week before I received any communication from the north except Gov. S's telegraph despatch, but today I have

received three letters from you—two those of the 25 & 27 ult. on their return from Florida—and that of the 4th inst. directed to me here. I shall leave next day after tomorrow for the north, taking the land route. I shall hasten *slowly* back to the north and probably be on my way as far as Richmond, Va., in the course of 6 or 8 days. I hope to hear from you when I get there. Let your letters be sent to the care of the Hon. J. Y. Mason. You are more hopeful than I am as to the contest in N. Y. for a Cabinet appointment. It looks to me as if the state would be passed over. Such a course will not be wise; for it does not avoid the difficulties, but only pushes them off for a moment. They will all return on the local appointments, and it is the interest felt in regard to these which gives importance to the cabinet appointments.

I am right glad to hear that the Governor meets so manfully the responsibilities of his very embarrassing position. No man ever gained so much reputation as he has in so short a time since his nomination until now. Such a noble career must, as human nature is constituted, excite the admiration of generous men and the malignity of base ones.

I hope you and other friends at Albany will let me hear of you as soon as I get to Richmond. I received a letter from the Gov. about 10 days ago.

Yours truly,

W. L. MARCY.

LETTER FROM W. L. MARCY TO JOHN V. L. PRUYN

Strictly confidential
but may be shown to Gov. S——
& Mrs. Cas.

Richmond, Feby 18th '53.

My dear Sir:

I have just received your letter of the 16th inst. *I shall go on to Washington tomorrow.* I hope to see you there on or before the 4th of March. Judging from newspaper speculations things appear to be taking a definite shape—and what shape they will ultimately take, you will be able to form as correct an opinion when this letter reaches you, as I can at this time of writing it. I have said all I can properly say. I go to Washington tomorrow.

Yours truly,

W. L. MARCY.

JOURNAL OF JOHN V. L. PRUYN

While on a business journey in western N. Y. & Pennsylvania Mr. Pruyt writes:

September 12, 1856. I stopped at Lancaster, Penn., to call on Mr. Buchanan, the candidate for the Presidency. Mr. Slidell* was with him. I remained to tea. Discussing the formation of Mr. Polk's administration, Mr. Buchanan said that Mr. Polk had at first offered a seat in the Cabinet to Silas Wright, who declined it; then to B. F. Butler, who also declined; and then, principally on the solicitation and urgency of John Cramer, who was at Washington, to Governor Marcy; that the day after the offer to Governor Marcy intelligence was received that Mr. Van Buren would accept, but it was then too late.

December 6, 1859. Governor Seymour called this evening. He is tired of public life and wishes retirement, the ambition he once had, he says, having passed away, and he certainly philosophizes well on this point. He stated that he had a long conversation with Governor Marcy a week before his death in regard to his (Governor Seymour's) position and future in life and public affairs generally. Governor Marcy said that the trouble with him was *to know how to die*; how after so long an active career to sit down quietly to meet the coming future. What a commentary on ambition!

WILLIAM G. RICE.

ALBANY, N. Y.

* John Slidell, of Louisiana, afterward so prominent in the Rebellion.

THE BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS HALF WON AT SEA

IN THE many commemorations of the ninety-eighth anniversary of the battle of New Orleans, that took place January 8 throughout the United States, it should not be forgotten that our maritime forces played an important part in that momentous struggle—not only during the great fight, but before and after it. That it was one of the decisive actions of the nineteenth century cannot be denied, for it saved the great Southwest to the Union; and that it was one of the most serious disasters British arms had suffered in many decades is frankly admitted by Admiral Sir Edward Codrington (who was then on the North American station and in a position to know), when he wrote to Lady Codrington: "There never was a more complete failure."

In view of the fact that nearly all our great histories have been written by landmen, we more readily can understand how the credit for repelling the invaders has been ascribed, almost exclusively, to our land forces, and, resultingly, the American public today is not familiar with the fact that heavy blows were struck by our sailors against this empire-grasping expedition. In English records we obtain more of a sea-view of this great campaign which places it in a truer perspective. From transatlantic documents we learn that fully one-fourth of the total loss sustained by the British was inflicted by American sailors.

One of the prime instigators of the New Orleans expedition was Rear-Admiral Sir George Cockburn, who had made a record in America by burning several towns. After he and Major-Gen. Ross had partially destroyed Washington in 1814, Cockburn turned his attention to New Orleans. Evidently Sir George regarded the destruction of Washington as the crowning achievement of his professional career, for, when standing for his portrait, he caused a representation of the burning American capital to be inserted as a lurid background. In after years he escorted Napoleon to St. Helena—the only other incident of his life that brought him prominently before the public. One of Sir George's war craft attached to the New Orleans expedition was captured by an American privateer and from some papers found aboard it was revealed that he fully intended to extend his campaign of conflagration to the Crescent City.

In a way, it may be said that the battle of New Orleans began on

the night of September 26, 1814, in the harbor of Fayal of the Azores Islands, for it was there and then that Americans struck their first serious blow against the great expedition. Anchored in that port was the New York privateer, *Gen. Armstrong* under the command of Samuel Reid, when, on the date mentioned, a section of the New Orleans expedition entered the harbor as a stopping place in its voyage to the rendezvous off the mouth of the Mississippi River. This section consisted of the seventy-four-gun-line-of-battle-ship *Plantagenet*, Capt. Robert Lloyd; the thirty-eight-gun frigate *Rota*, Capt. Philip Somerville; the eighteen-gun war brig *Carnation*, Capt. George Bentham, and the sloops of war *Thais* and *Calypso* having on board ammunition, provisions, and troops for the New Orleans expedition.

In violation of the neutrality of the port, Capt. Lloyd began an attack on the *General Armstrong*, the results of which are well known. Two of the British boat attacks were repulsed with fearful loss to the enemy, and the privateer was finally destroyed by her own people—her surviving officers and men escaping to the shore. It is not likely that the British casualties in this remarkable combat will ever be accurately determined. American and the local accounts place the number much higher than the evasive English reports, but even Capt. Lloyd admitted that he had sixty-three officers and men killed and 110 wounded; a total of 173, which forms a substantial item in the 2,000 British casualties credited to the entire New Orleans expedition.

According to the statement of an English eye-witness: "The Americans fought with great firmness, but more like blood-thirsty savages than anything else. They rushed into the (attacking) boats, sword in hand, and put every soul to death as far as came within their power. Some of the boats were left without a single man to row them, others with three or four. The most that any one returned with was about ten. Several boats floated ashore full of dead bodies. . . . For three days after the battle we were employed in burying the dead that washed ashore in the surf."

From the viewpoint of casualties this was the most serious naval action the British engaged in during our War of 1812—and, from the admissions of the leading British newspapers of that day, the naval occurrences of 1812-'15 (so far as single ships and small squadrons were concerned) were the most disastrous England had experienced in a century. A comparison with the most important naval battles of this war gives the following figures in regard to losses sustained by the English:

Constitution vs. *Guerriere*, 78; *United States* vs. *Macedonian*, 104; *Constitution* vs. *Java*, 161; *Chesapeake* vs. *Shannon*, 83; *Essex* vs. *Phoebe* and *Cherub*, 15; *President* vs. *Endymion*, 25; *Constitution* vs. *Cyane* and *Levant*, 77—so that the loss of 173 officers and men in the attack on the *General Armstrong* fully indicates the seriousness of that occurrence from the enemy's viewpoint.

But there was a more important aspect of this fight. As a result of the attack, this section of the New Orleans expedition was not only delayed in its voyage, but two of the vessels were sent back to England laden with the wounded. Thus we see 173 able-bodied men eliminated from Packenham's available force, besides fully 300 more who constituted the complements of the two war craft that were sent back to England—all of which resulted from the "part our sailors took in the battle of New Orleans."

Nor should it be forgotten that it was the American man-o'-warshipman who bore the full brunt of the enemy's initial attack on New Orleans. To be sure, there were only 172 of them, including officers, but they inflicted a loss of 94 killed or wounded on their assailants, who came at them to the number of 980 men. It was the stubbornness of our sailors' opposition to the enemy's advance that detained the latter in the miasmal swamps bordering Lake Borgne and in the vicinity of New Orleans many days and brought about a debilitating condition in the health of the invaders which British army surgeons bitterly complained of in their reports to the War Office in London.

"Superb" is not an extravagant word to apply to the conduct of Lieut. Thomas ap Catesby Jones and the officers and men under him who manned the five little gunboats which opposed the advance of forty-two British launches armed with 24, 18, and 12-pounders, and manned by 980 officers and men, in Lake Borgne. The odds were hopeless. Jones and his men knew it. They also knew that Jackson had not yet arrived at New Orleans. In fact, there was no military leader then there who could be depended upon to organize an effective defence. The crying need of the moment was "time," and it was for "time" that Jones and his men fought with a heroism that has few parallels in naval history.

On the night of December 12, 1814, nearly four weeks before the great battle, the British entered Lake Borgne, and for two days directed aggressive operations against the 172 Americans in the five gunboats. It was the great English naval historian, William James, who declared:

"It appears that, after sustaining a very destructive fire for nearly half an hour, the boats (English) were repulsed" for the second time. Adhering to his policy of fighting for time, Jones now concentrated his little force at Malheureux Pass, and on the 14th the enemy advanced in overwhelming force for the final attack—and it was here that one of the noblest defences in American naval history was enacted. Lieut. Jones was desperately wounded, so the command devolved upon Midshipman Parker, who continued the fight to the limit of human endurance. Of course, there could be no ultimate result to such an unequal contest except defeat, but that result did not come until the Americans had gained invaluable time, and the British commander reported that his losses had been "extremely severe." The severity of the English losses was largely in their officers, three midshipmen being killed, while one captain, five lieutenants, seven midshipmen, and three master's mates were wounded.

This stubborn resistance on the part of our naval forces kept the invaders in the fever-laden swamps adjoining Lake Borgne longer than was anticipated, and on the night of December 23 our man-o'-warsman again came to the front. At that period the British army was encamped near the river when the American 14-gun schooner *Carolina*, Master Commandant Daniel Tod Patterson, worked up the Mississippi and took a position on the left flank of the hostile army.

A description of what she did that night is best told in the words of a British officer who had the misfortune to be stationed within the reach of the *Carolina's* cannon. He records: "A little before eight o'clock the attention of some one was drawn to a large vessel which seemed to be stealing up the river until she came opposite to the British stations; when her anchor was dropped and her sails were leisurely furled. Various were the opinions entertained of this stranger. She was hailed, but no answer was returned. All idea of sleep, however, was now laid aside, and several musket shots were fired, of which not the slightest notice was taken—until, at length, all her sails being fastened and her broadside swung toward our camp, a voice was distinctly heard exclaiming: 'Give them this in honor of America!'

"The flashes of her guns instantly followed, and a shower of grape-shot swept down numbers among the British troops. An incessant cannonade was then kept up, which could not be silenced, for our people had no artillery, and the few rockets that we discharged deviated so much from their object as to afford only amusement for the enemy.

Under such circumstances, therefore, all were ordered to leave their fires and shelter themselves under the dikes, where they lay each as he could find room, listening in painful silence to the iron hail among the boats and to the shrieks and groans of those that were wounded.

"The night was dark as pitch. The fires were all extinguished, and not an object was visible, except during momentary flashes of the guns. About this time a straggling fire called attention toward our piquets, as if some still more dreadful scene was about to open. Nor was it long before suspense was cut short by a tremendous yell and a semi-circular blaze of musketry which showed that our position was surrounded by a superior force and that no alternative remained but to surrender or drive back the assailants. The first of these plans was instantly rejected, for our troops rushed from their hiding places, and, dashing through their bivouac, under heavy discharge from the vessel, lost not a moment in attacking the foe without the slightest attention to order or the rules of disciplined warfare.

"The combat, which was left to individual valor and skill, lasted until three in the morning, and, though the enemy was finally repulsed, no less than 500 of our finest troops and best officers were left on the field. The rest then retired to their former hiding places, to be out of reach of their enemy on the river, which, when daylight appeared, was discovered to be a fine schooner of eighteen guns. In the cold dikes, however, our men were compelled to remain the whole of the ensuing day, without food or fire, for, whenever the smallest number began to steal away from shelter, the vessel opened her fire."

Three days later the British brought up their artillery, and by means of hot shot managed to set the *Carolina* on fire—her people escaping to the opposite shore, after having seven killed or wounded.

On the 28th of December the *Louisiana*, Master Commandant John Dandridge Henley (the only vessel now remaining to the Americans in this vicinity), harassed the invaders by throwing some 800 shot into their advancing columns. During the great battle of January 8 this craft rendered invaluable service by protecting the flank of the American army and taking an active part in the action. One gun, in particular, was handled by Midshipman Philbert in a manner that attracted favorable comment. Henley was wounded before the battle closed.

As the enemy retreated down the river, several American boat parties pursued them. Six boats, under the command of Purser Thomas Shields, manned by fifty men, captured an English barge con-

taining forty officers and men of the Fourteenth Light Dragoons, besides fourteen seamen. Soon afterwards Shields seized another barge, a transport schooner, and five boats, which gave him eighty-three additional prisoners. Sailing Master Johnson also destroyed a transport and captured some of the fleeing Englishmen.

But this by no means ended the pursuit of the ill-fated expedition. On February 26, 1815, the American privateer *Chasseur*, Capt. Thomas Boyle, while cruising near Havana, fell in with the British war schooner *St. Lawrence*, Lieut. Henry Cranmer Gordon, having on board a number of British officers and soldiers who had been engaged in the New Orleans expedition. The *St. Lawrence* also bore dispatches from Rear-Admiral Cockburn. Besides her military passengers, this craft had a complement of seventy-five men. After a spirited action of only fifteen minutes, in which the enemy had forty men killed or wounded and the Americans thirteen (Capt. Boyle being among the wounded), the *St. Lawrence* was captured.

These statistics are enough to make it evident that the American sailor took a very considerable part in defeating the great New Orleans expedition.

EDGAR S. MACLAY.

Evening Post, N. Y.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

REMARKABLE LETTER OF ADMIRAL JOHN MONTAGU, WRITTEN AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE REVOLUTION

It is dated Widley, Nov. 22nd, 1775, addressed either to Sir Isaac Coffin, or his father, Nathaniel Coffin, at Boston, most likely the latter, who was a doctor of Falmouth (now Portland). Full of most important expressions and views on the situation at the time. His criticisms on the officer in command are trenchant to a degree, and described with considerable naïveté.

“ . . . I’m glad to hear you are in the land of the living, and I wish your intelligence had been more agreeable, however it is to be hoped in the future things will take a better turn, as the two Commanders in Chief, are removed, tho: I think myself, the land one a very good Man, & would have done better, had he been furnished with powers to act earlier in his reign: my Brother Officer I am afraid, is wrong headed, and has not the best Military Genius in the World. Added to that he is possessed with a confounded deal of pride, however his reign is over, and I suppose you are not sorry he is gone. The Gentleman who succeeds him has good Understanding & I hope will do better; tho: he has been ever unlucky in his Sea engagements.—But I hope his present Command will be more lucky to him. It is a great disadvantage to him, he not having been in that Country before.

I do not presume to take any merit to myself, but I flatter myself had I been at Boston, from knowing the Harbour, (which I took great pains to do) many of the disagreeable things that have happen’d would have been prevented. I think the Light House should not have been burnt; or the stock taken off the Islands or would there have been any disputes between me and the Governor, or General. . . . You will see you have a new Minister for N. America. It is said a commission is coming out to treat with the Different Coloneys at the Head of which is to be Gl. Amhurst, & Lord Howe, with Tryon, Penn & Franklin, of the Jerseys, but as yet it is but talk. It was first thrown out by L. Barrington that the right of Taxation was to be given up, but you will see L. North contradicts it in one of his Speeches. I believe Great Britain is determined to make one vigorous attack this summer,

30-000 Men is the No. allotted for America, but if that will not be sufficient, Lord North said he would have 70-000 by the Month of June, in the Sea Department every Ship or Vessel from 50 Guns downwards is commissioned as fast as they can be got ready, & I dare say you will have between 70 & 80 sail of Pendants before the end of May.

Sr. Peter Parker is coming out Second in Command & I believe he is to be at Virginia, five Regiments are to sail in Decr., I fancy to Virginia also, & more will be sent early in the Spring."

He shows great ingenuousness in the next sentence—the hope evidently fostering the thought.

"If the Gentlemen at the Congress would quarrel, we might have some hopes of bringing matters to a conclusion, but at present I see no likelihood of a reconciliation. We are determined, & carry every thing by a great Majority in both Houses, the Rebels are obstinate & are willing to try whether they can get the better, but at last I think they must give way . . . The report you have heard of the Rebels having met with a Rebuff at St. John's is true. Many are the reports spread by those that wish it that Boston was Burnt, that Quebec and Halifax was taken, but thank God all is false. Why ye have not taken Rhode Island I do not understand, for certainly it would be a very good place for your Troops in case you should be obliged to leave Boston." etc.

LETTER OF JOHN BROWN ON THE WOOL TRADE

SPRINGFIELD, MASS., 12th March, 1849.

Simon Perkins, Esq.

Dear Sir: Yours of the 28th Feby. is this moment received. Cannot account for its being so long on the way. It appears to have been mailed some day in March. Too blindly marked to tell when. I had been putting off writing for some days in hopes of being able to report brisk sales, but am yet unable to do so. What we have sold of late has been at full 1847 prices, but there is a hanging back that makes me quite at a loss how to act under the cricumstances, which are about as follows: Viz., wool is verry scarce in the country. Wools, & wollen goods have very much advanced in Europe. Woolen goods have advanced in this country & the stock is light. Wool is selling high in other markets, & they are verry bare. Money is something easier & likely to be still more so. To fall on our prices when noboddy ex-

pects it, would be it seems to me a doubtful course, or to make it public here that we intend to quit the business; either of them might provoke a disposition to make an example of us by not buying at all; even should manufacturers have to stop a while in order to have us well hanged in the conclusion. Manufacturers are calling often, & I have believed for weeks that another day would make a move of the thing to some good purpose. After taking up the two notes we gave at the Cabot Bank when you was here; one of \$15,000, & one of \$12,000. I had occasion to loan again, & supposing you intended to have your Ohio stock remain like the assignment of our interest in the wools held by us untill our accounts with the Bank were closed, I told Mr. Walker to retain it as a collateral still. I have not yet seen Mr. Walker since receiving yours but I think he understood that he was to retain the stock instead of an endorser while we should close up our accounts. If that was not your intention I am sorry I did not understand it sooner, as it would seem a little awkward to call on Mr. Walker either for the stock or for an explanation just as things now stand. As I have felt pretty confident of making large sales soon, & have been constantly teased for money by our customers, I have been paying them a good deal, but have not diminished our indebtedness at the Cabot Bank, but have increased it considerably. Our present indebtedness at that Bank is \$57,000, with the other Banks we have no account.

I expect to receive on contracts during the present month as follows: From Perham Sewell & Co. \$12,000, From Iver H. Hooker & Co., Hartford, \$13,000, From New England Co., Vernon, Conn., \$9,000, & some other smaller amounts from Boston, Monson, & Philadelphia, but have got under obligations to help some of our customers to some Four or Five Thousand Dollars in the mean time to go in different directions. I think I can manage to get your stock perfectly clear in a short time without any difficulty; say by the middle of April, (perhaps sooner.) To be continually urged for money by our customers & have the wool go off so slow makes me sometimes feel a little depressed; Such was the case yesterday, & I hate to write dull news, & am but very little inclined to say anything when I can say nothing encouraging. By the way some Two months ago feeling quite determined to close up the business I offered the finer grades at Five cents per lb. below our present prices but could not sell one pound untill I made up my mind that there was no possible good reason for holding it so low & put up the price. Since raising the price I have made Three sales of

fine wool amounting in all to 37,000 lbs., all at 1847 prices, & hear no grumbling of consequence about prices. As I said before we get an unusual number of calls, but still they do not seem quite ready to buy. I shall see Mr. Walker immediately & talk with him, & perhaps my best way will be to show him your letter. I will just add that all our money matters stand right & so far as our character is concerned could not be improved. The other Banks here have all showed a disposition to do business with us. Agawam in particular. I will now wait a little again. in hopes of having a better story next time. Feel in pretty good spirits as the latest European news is very encouraging. The enclosed Trial balance has been a good while waiting for me to write. I hope you will think of some idea to give me on reading the above; as I have endeavoured to give you as correct an idea of things as I am capable of.

Yours truly,

JOHN BROWN.

P. S.—Shall send you a number of the *Dry Goods Reporter* with some marks on it. Have thought it most prudent to keep still as yet about quitting the wool business; not knowing what the effect might be, & have given as I did a year ago evasive answers about it.

Yours,

J. B.

G. P. R. JAMES ON THE UNITED STATES

Written to the English publisher Edmund Oliver, from New Haven, Conn., where he was lecturing at Yale. His opinion of us is in strong contrast to Dickens' estimate, as found in *Martin Chuzzlewit*—(perhaps we had improved).

October 27, 1850.

You all think that in point of polish and the accumulation of conveniences and even of the conventionalities which grow gradually upon old lands, this country, two centuries and a half old, ought to be upon a par with the others where civilization has been going on with a steady progress for more than treble this period; and we are disappointed when we find any small particular deficit. * * * But my dear Ollier, in passing through this land one sees no poverty, no squalid wretchedness, no hovels and old huts. Great good-humor, too, is visible everywhere amongst the people; each man seems to feel that by industry he can get on as well as another. There is little of that jealous rivalry,

none of that irritable envy that we see in older lands where we are all struggling for a portion of that bread which is not sufficient for the whole. There is undoubtedly an eager craving for money. It is not only the whole land that is making its way upwards but every individual in it. Each man is encouraged by a probable hope of fortune and each man seeks it with eagerness; but every one holds out his hand to the one lower than himself on the ladder and tries to help him up too. The things I mention are on the surface—open to every eye. * * * Doubtless, there is much that I object to; but depend upon it this is a great and extraordinary country and England must not sit still contented if she would not be pushed from her stool. * * * ”

G. P. R. JAMES.

LETTER OF JOHN TYLER TO ROBERT TYLER, GIVING AN ACCOUNT OF THE
ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF ANDREW JACKSON

Washington, Jan. 31, 1835.

“My object in writing to you was to give you an account of an occurrence which transpired yesterday, and to ask that you will walk down to Judge Semple’s and inform him of the facts. Warren R. Davis died two nights ago and yesterday the funeral ceremonies were performed in the H. of Representatives. The members of both houses were present, and the President of the U. States with the members of his Cabinet. The procession moved from the hall, through the Rotunda to the East Porch of the Capitol. The House first, Senate Second followed by the President, &c. I was unwell and concluded not to go to the grave, and after getting to the porch, I stepped out of the line of the procession, to the right. I had not been standing there more than a minute when I heard an explosion similar to that produced by an ordinary cracker, which caused me to turn around, when I perceived a man standing in front of the President, about four steps on, with a pocket pistol pointed at the President. The report immediately followed of the same character with that I had a moment before heard. The President immediately raised his cane and made at him, but before he could strike, the fellow was seized and thrown down, the President still pressing on him, and when preparing to stick his cane into him, was drawn off. The fellow was immediately transferred to the civil authorities, and now lies in jail to abide his trial at a future day. It seems that

he had two pistols, each of which he attempted to discharge, but they were with percussion locks, the day was very damp, a thick mist prevailing, and altho the caps, by their explosion, must of been as fine as were ever used, the powder did not ignite. They were found to be well loaded with the finest powder, and 'tis almost a miracle that they did not go off. The man is said to be an Englishman by birth, to have been in this city some three years, to be a printer by trade, and to have given on more occasion than one evidence of derangement. He was asked, I learned, by Mr. Randolph the Sergt at Arms to the House, what led him to attempt the life of the President. He replied, 'because he killed my father three years ago.' There is nothing but madness in all this."

This letter evidently was handed to some paper for publication, as several lines have been erased.

OUR FRONTISPIECE

We give our readers a reproduction of one of the longest, if not the longest, letters known of Nathan Hale. It is also one of the earliest of his army letters, being written from the camp at Winter Hill during the siege of Boston (Hale met his untimely death nearly a year later). The original letter was sold by Mr. Stan. V. Henkels this month for the record price of fifteen hundred dollars, and we are indebted to him for the use of the plate. The ink and paper used are as near as possible like the original.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES AND QUERIES

INTERNACIONA NOTARO E QUESTIONARO

(Supplement to THE MAGAZINE OF HISTORY, Vol. 16, No. 1.)

New York City, U. S. A.

Vol. I.

January, 1913.

No. 1.

Subscription:

Postpaid, in U. S. and Canada,
\$2.25 per year.
Postpaid, in other countries,
\$2.50 per year

Publisher: WILLIAM ABBATT
410 East 32d Street
New York, U. S. A.

Editor: EUGENE F. McPIKE
135 Park Row
Chicago, Ill., U. S. A.

Abono:

Afrankite, en Usono e Kanado,
Fr. 11.50 yare.
Afrankite, en altra landi,
Fr. 12.50 yare.

Editisto: WILLIAM ABBATT
410 East 32d Street
New York, U. S. A.

Redaktero: EUGENE F. McPIKE
135 Park Row,
Chicago, Ill., U. S. A.

ORDER OF CONTENTS

NOTICE

OUR PROGRAMME

- 010. Bibliography.
- 020. Library Economy.
- 026. Libraries on Special Subjects.
- 050. General Periodicals.
- 300. Sociology.
- 310. Statistics.
- 408.9 International Language.
- 580. Botany.
- 654. Telegraphs and Telephones.
- 697. Heating and Ventilation.
- 770. Photography.
- 910. Geography and Travel.
- 920. Biography.
- 929. Genealogy.

NOTICE

Correspondents will please write on only one side of paper and use a separate sheet for each subject. All communications must be signed, with address, not necessarily for publication, but as evidence of good faith. Each separate query should be accompanied by an addressed and stamped envelope. The editor does not assume any responsibility for the correctness of replies sent by contributors. Send all communications to the editor.

EUGENE F. McPIKE
135 Park Row, CHICAGO, ILL., U. S. A.

ORDINO DI KONTENAJO

A VISO

NIA PROGRAMO

- 010. Bibliografio.
- 020. Bibliotekal Ekonomio.
- 026. Biblioteki pri speciala temi.
- 050. General Jurnali.
- 300. Sociologio.
- 310. Statistiki.
- 408.9 Linguo Internaciona.
- 580. Botaniko.
- 654. Telegrafo e Telefono.
- 697. Kalorizado e Ventilado.
- 770. Fotografio.
- 910. Geografio e Turismo.
- 920. Biografio.
- 929. Genealogia.

AVIZO

Korespondanti volentes akribar sur nur un latero di la papero, ed uzus aparta folio por ĉomna singla temo. Omna komunikaji mustas esar subskribata, kun adreso, ne necese por imprimo, ma nur kom garantio di bona fido. Omna singla questiono devos esar akompanata da adresita kuverta, e respondokuponon. La Redaktero ne asumas irga responsiveco por la respondi sendita da korespondanti. Turnez sempre a la Redaktero.

EUGENE F. McPIKE
135 Park Row, CHICAGO, ILL., U. S. A.

OUR PROGRAMME

Commencing with this number, it is proposed to publish the International Notes and Queries, at least eight pages monthly, at the subscription price indicated. The publisher reserves the right to increase the price to three dollars per year whenever the augmented size of the magazine may seem to him to justify it.

This initial issue is practically identical with our preliminary number distributed in December, 1912.

An Advisory Board of Editors will be formed, representing not only America but other countries as well. Steps will be taken to secure the co-operation and support of investigators and students throughout the civilized world, and thus our subscribers may reasonably expect that we will have a large circle of correspondents in widely separated localities and familiar with widely differing subjects.

Subscribers may present queries on any topic of interest to them, chiefly in regard to matters on which information is not easily obtainable elsewhere.

Reference librarians, investigators and students everywhere are requested to submit to the editor any important or interesting questions to which they have been unable to find the answers, also useful facts which have been obtained by them after more than usual research. From this it will be observed that the scope of the International Notes and Queries, while flexible and potentially unrestricted, will be brought within such practical limits as may conform to the interests of its subscribers.

To facilitate foreign research and thus increase our field of usefulness, short notes and queries in the International language IDO will be accepted. In recognizing Ido as an auxiliary language, we are only following the precedents already established by *Die Brücke* (The Bridge) of Munich, and the well known Finsen Institute of Copenhagen, which both have, like certain other progressive organizations, approved Ido for optional use by their members and correspondents. Ido is the quintessence of the modern European languages, and it can, therefore, perform many useful services for us. Its admission to our columns will not only augment the number of our readers and correspondents in

Europe and other parts of the world, but will serve in many ways and on many occasions as a medium for bringing us information from foreign lands, for Ido, being practically free from artificial elements, can be read easily at first sight, without study, by many who have some knowledge of one Romance and one Teutonic tongue.

The contents of each issue will be arranged by subject, according to the decimal classification. We hope to provide a complete index at the end of each volume, and with that in mind will precede each item or entry with a number in parentheses. Subsequent notes or queries on a subject previously treated will be given a new number which will be followed by the old number to permit of easy reference to the former item.

It has often been remarked that the most difficult thing in the world to find is—a fact. We certainly cannot hope to succeed always in finding answers to questions presented, and there may even be errors occasionally in the information furnished, but due care will be exercised in all these particulars.

There is great need of co-ordination of library and other research, and with the active co-operation of all our subscribers, which is urgently requested, the International Notes and Queries should speedily become truly useful to all serious students, whether their personal interests be scientific, historical, literary or commercial. This initial number is presented as a basis for criticism and suggestions, either specific or general. Readers are requested to favor the Editor with their views.

OIO. BIBLIOGRAPHY

(1.) Association de Bibliographie et de Documentation Scientifique, Industrielle et Commerciale. M. Jules Garçon, Directeur, 40 bis, Rue Fabert, Paris (VIIIe).

(2.) Institut International de Bibliographie, Brussels, Belgium.

(3.) Bureau Bibliographique, 38 Rue Lucrezio, Rome, Italy.

(4.) Bibliographical Society of America. Secretary: Dr. Adolf C. von Noé, University of Chicago.

(5.) A. L. A. Publishing Board. Secretary: George B. Utley, 78 E. Washington St., Chicago.

(6.) *Has any one undertaken to compile a bibliography of internationalism?*—G. S.

This is one of the tasks which should be assumed by a national Research Institute when established.

O20. LIBRARY ECONOMY

(7.) *The Library Journal*, chiefly devoted to Library economy and bibliography. 1912, vol. 37. New York: Office of the *Publishers' Weekly*. Yearly subscription \$4.00.

Beginning with May, 1912, the *Library Journal* includes in its department "Periodical and other literature" the digest of library and periodical literature formerly published in *Library Work*.

The department "Notes and News" gives miscellaneous information about ways and methods. Under the heading "Bibliography and Cataloguing," current bibliographies, chiefly American, are noted.

O26. LIBRARIES ON SPECIAL SUBJECTS

(8.) *Special Libraries*, organ of the Special Libraries Association; Editor: John A. Lapp, State Library, Indianapolis, Indiana. Monthly; \$2.00 per year (10 numbers).

O50. GENERAL PERIODICALS

(9.) *Notes and Queries*, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, London, E. C.

Weekly, since 1849, in half-yearly volumes with index. Also General Index to each series of twelve volumes. Relates chiefly to history, biography, genealogy, heraldry, folk-lore, literature, grammar, linguistics philology, and bibliography. Is in public libraries of larger American cities.

(10.) *L'Intermediaire des Chercheurs et Curieux*. 31 bis, Rue Victor-Masse, Paris.

Thrice monthly since 1864. General Index to 1896. A set in library of University of Chicago. Relates to French history, art, etc.

300. SOCIOLOGY

(11.) Dr. Hermann Beck is the Director of the International Institute for *Socialbibliographie*, Berlin.

(12.) *Dokumente des Fortschritts* is the official organ of the Institut für Internationalen Austausch fortschrittlicher Erfahrungen (International Institute for the Exchange of Progressive Experiences), of which Prof. J. H. Epstein, 22 Hermannstrasse, Hamburg, is the Secretary. It is said that a sample copy of the journal may be obtained free, by sending request to the printer, Georg Reimer, Berlin, W. 35.

(13.) *Les Documents du Progrès*, is the official organ of the Institut International pour la diffusion des Expériences Sociales, of which Prof. Dr. Rodolphe Broda, is the General Director. His address is 59 Rue Claude Bernard, Paris.

(14.) *Progress* is the organ of the British Institute of Social Service, 4 Tavistock Square, London, W. C.

(15.) The front cover pages of current issues of *The Survey* contain a list of addresses of societies devoted to child-welfare, etc., which are willing to answer inquiries on matters within their scope. A similar list appeared in *Special Libraries* for June, 1911 (pages 54-58), and in *The Publisher and Retailer* (New York), for October, 1911 (pages 17-19).

310. STATISTICS

(16.) *How much scrap wrought iron is shipped from Pacific Coast to points east of the Rocky Mountains?*—H. C. D.

Numerous authorities have been consulted in vain. Can any reader help?

4089. INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE

(17.) *Progreso, Oficial organo di l'Uniono por la Linguo Internaciona*, konsakrata a la propagado, libera diskutado e konstanta perfektigado di la Linguo Internaciona. Edited by Dr. L. Couturat, Paris. Monthly since March, 1908. Price \$1.40 per year. English agent: Guilbert Pitman, 34 Coombe Road, Croydon, London.

(18.) *International Language and Science*, By L. Couturat, O. Jespersen, R. Lorenz, W. Ostwald, L. Pfaundler. Translated by F. G. Connan, Professor at the University of Liverpool. 87 pages. London: Constable & Co., Ltd., 1910.

(19.) Fr. Schneeberger Pastoro, Lüsslingen (Solothurn), Switzerland, is the Secretary of the "Uniono por la Linguo Internaciona."

580. BOTANY

(20.) Prof. B. Mackensen, President of the San Antonio Scientific Society, 923 Aganier Av., San Antonio, Tex., is interested in the flora of Texas and would exchange specimens, etc. (*Il Konocas Ido*.)

654. TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONES

(21.) *Did you ever hear of a Bureau of Information in Budapest, conducted by or in co-operation with the local telephone company?*—G. S.
Inquiries will be made.

(22.) Lektanito en Austrio-Hungario estas pregata furniŝar informojn pri la Kontoro de Informoj, kunligita kun la telefona sistemo en Budapeŝto. Oni demandas plenan informon. Tio plano ne jam adoptis en Ameriko.—La Redakto.

697. HEATING AND VENTILATION

(23.) Can you give me the address of the manufacturer of a window ventilator which will permit the window to be open about one foot and exclude snow and rain? It should slant inwardly, so as to make opening larger at top than bottom. To what extent is such a ventilator used in public schools?—X. Y. Z.

The address you seek has been sent to you. Replies on the ventilation of schools are requested.

770. PHOTOGRAPHY

(24.) According to *The Library Journal* (U. S.) for August, 1912 (vol. 37, p. 478), the Library of Congress; California State Library, Sacramento; John Crerar Library, Chicago; and the Hall of Archives, Ottawa, are equipped with photographic apparatus ("photostat") by which copies of pages in books, manuscripts, etc., can be made, at small cost, for students and others. The Library of the Engineering Societies, New York City, is also considering the installation of such apparatus.

910. GEOGRAPHY AND TRAVEL

(Touring)

(25.) *How can I obtain some information and views of San Diego, California?*—B. R. L.

An attractive pamphlet of information and views is issued by the Chamber of Commerce of San Diego and may be obtained free upon request.

(26.) *I expect to visit Switzerland next year, but would like first to be placed in direct communication with sources of special information. Can you help me? I wish also to learn something in detail about the village of Stein-Toggenburg.*—C. T. S.

The American Agency of the Swiss Federal Railways, 241 Fifth Av., New York City, would supply you with full information, including illustrations, and would answer any inquiries. The village of Stein, in the Toggenburg valley, Canton of St. Gall, is in the northeastern part of Switzerland, and is reached via St. Gall. All facts desired could be obtained by addressing inquiries direct to Herr C. Hartmann, of the "Verkehrs-Verein Stein," Stein-Toggenburg, Switzerland, accompanied by an international response-coupon.

(27.) *Me volas vizitar Ameriko kom turanto. Quale me povus obtenar kelka informi pri diversa parti di la lando?*—M. R.

Sioro Rud. Falck, Amerikahaus, Hamburg, Germanio, esas Agento por plur Amerikana korporacioni. Il probable povus furnisar bezonata informi a vu, segun demando.

920. BIOGRAPHY

(28.) *Why did the British commander, in America, trust Benedict Arnold, after his treason? Was any military surveillance exercised over him?*—D. J.

According to Dunlop's "History of New York," (II., 201), Colonels Dundas and Simcoe, who accompanied Arnold, held a "dormant commission" from Sir Henry Clinton to supersede the traitor if they had any reason to suspect him. This is not mentioned by Simcoe. Consult also Simcoe's "Military Journal," (reprint, New York, 1844), appendix, page 325, and "The Makers of Canada: John Graves Simcoe," by Duncan Campbell Scott, F. R. S. C. (Toronto: Morang & Co., Ltd., 1905), page 33.

(29.) *Is there any original portrait of Cervantes, author of "Don Quixote?"*—B. W.

What is alleged to be the only original portrait of Cervantes, in existence, was described, not long ago, in *L'Intermediaire des Chercheurs et Curieux* (see *ante* No. 10).

(30.) *Is there any known portrait of Bartholomew Gosnold, the English navigator?*—W. A.

929. GENEALOGY

(31.) The Society of Genealogists of London, Mr. Geo. Sherwood, Honorary Secretary, 227 The Strand, London, W. C., is making a large collection of genealogical material from public records, etc. Official organ: *The Pedigree Register*.

(32.) Mr. Ralph J. Beevor, M. A. (Trinity College, Cambridge), whose address is: "Langley," Lemsford Road, St. Albans, England, is interested in the genealogy of several English families including Hare and Lee.

(33.) The Newberry Library, Chicago, possesses an enormous collection of genealogical material, with an index of surnames numbering many thousands. We select a few:

Day (England) 1698—1750	Lyon (U. S.) 1656—1912
Denton (England) 1790—1912	Mountain (U. S.) 1700—1790
Denton (U. S.) 1870—1912	Parry (England) 1750—1795
Dumont (U. S.) 1656—1912	Pike, Pyke (England) 1694—1751
Fairfield (U. S.) 1797—1900	Rezeau (U. S.) 1700
Freeman (England) 1738—1772	Traverrier (U. S.) 1700
Guest (New Jersey) 1750—1825	Traversier (U. S.) 1700
Halley (England) 1600—1765	

N. B. Subscribers to the *Magazine of History* will receive this Supplement *gratis*.

Our second number will present a variety of new material, including a note on the little known literature relating to the efficiency of farm management from a practical standpoint.

VOL. XVI

No. 2

THE
MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

WITH
NOTES AND QUERIES

Americanus sum: Americani nihil a me alienum puto

FEBRUARY 1913

WILLIAM ABBATT

410 EAST 32d ST., NEW YORK CITY

Published Monthly

\$5.00 a Year

50 Cents a Number

THE MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

WITH NOTES AND QUERIES

Vol. XVI.

FEBRUARY, 1913

No. 2

CONTENTS

PRESIDENT JACKSON AND THE SECOND UNITED STATES BANK	CHARLES NEVERS HOLMES	49
THE FLAG OF THE UNITED STATES	WILLIAM ELLIOTT GRIFFIS, D.D.	58
THE COUNTIES OF RHODE ISLAND . . .	DANIEL GOODWIN	66
A PONCE DE LEON DOCUMENT		73
NOTES BY THE WAY (Collected from Various Sources) . . .		76
NOTES AND QUERIES		86

Entered as Second-class matter, March 1, 1905, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y.
Act of Congress March 3, 1879.

THE MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

WITH NOTES AND QUERIES

VOL. XVI

FEBRUARY, 1913

No. 2

PRESIDENT JACKSON AND THE SECOND UNITED STATES BANK

A STRONG willed, obstinate, violent-tempered, persistent, energetic, honest, patriotic man became in 1829 the seventh President of the United States of America. A man whose father had been an emigrant from the north of Ireland; whose birthplace has been in dispute, documentary evidence placing it in Union County, North Carolina; whose birthday was March 15, 1767; whose death was June 8, 1845 (near Nashville, Tennessee). A man whose boyhood exhibited a reckless, quarrelsome, courageous nature, with little or no inclination to study; who, after some indifferent law preparation at Salisbury, S. C., became in 1788 Public Prosecutor of the later State of Tennessee, was elected in 1796 first Federal Representative of that State, and was appointed United States Senator in 1797: who became a judge of the Supreme Court of Tennessee in 1798; was a private citizen from 1806-1811; was in the war of 1812, during which time he won his popular name of "Old Hickory" and also the battle of New Orleans; and in 1817 engaged in military operations against certain Indian tribes.

In 1824 this man of the people received the largest popular vote of four candidates for President, but was defeated by John Quincy Adams through the vote of the House of Representatives. In 1828, owing in part to the influence of Van Buren, he was elected President by an electoral vote of 178. In 1832 he was more overwhelmingly chosen by an electoral vote of 219, his chief rival in the race being Henry Clay. Three of the more noticeable achievements in his administrations were his dealing with foreign nations, his prompt and energetic handling of South Carolina's "nullification", and his battle—one might say, war—against the United States Bank. After he had seen Martin Van Buren defeat William H. Harrison for the eighth President of the United States, Andrew Jackson retired to private life. In 1791, he had married Mrs. Rachel Robards. For years "Old Hickory" was a most popular idol; although his enemies and enmities were both bitter and sincere.

During the Revolution our provisional government was an uncertain and experimental sort of thing; but like any other government it needed money to carry on a war. It endeavored to tide over its financial difficulties by issuing paper currency or notes. From June, 1775, to November, 1779, the Continental Congress had issued a total of \$241,000,000 in notes, whilst in addition the different states had put out more than \$200,000,000 worth. The result was depreciation and confusion. At one time there were two treasurers of the United States; afterwards, a committee of congressional delegates; and then a Treasury-board that took care of the public funds. In 1781, Robert Morris became Superintendent of Finance. He advised the establishment of some authorized institution, and the Bank of North America was organized, not only to conduct the usual banking business, but to issue a circulating medium for the country. This Bank proved to be of great value, and, in 1782-1783, it made loans which were needed by the provisional government.

On February 25, 1791, chiefly through the effort and influence of Hamilton, then Secretary of the Treasury, the First Bank of the United States received its charter, for a term of twenty years. In a way this new Bank took the place of the Bank of North America, and was designed to be the banking agent of our government and the depository of all the public funds. The capital of this First Bank was \$10,000,000, which was divided into 25,000 shares of \$400 each. The Bank was allowed to hold property to the amount of \$15,000,000, to issue notes, and to create branch banks. It had a most prosperous financial career, and paid dividends of from 8 to 10 per cent. Its charter, however, expired in 1811, and Congress, disturbed by doubts as to its constitutionality and being hostile to the then Secretary of the Treasury Gallatin, would not renew its charter. Moreover, the state banks opposed the renewal of this charter; and the First Bank of the United States wound up its affairs and went honorably out of existence.

The result of the withdrawal of such a prosperous and authorized banking institution was finally financial chaos; hastened somewhat by the voluntary retirement of Secretary Gallatin; and the temporary appointment of William Jones certainly did not improve the situation. In 1814, Jones was succeeded by George W. Campbell who soon resigned, and October 5, Alexander J. Dallas became Secretary of the Treasury. This was in Madison's administration, and, although the party in political power would not otherwise, in all probability, have favored the re-

establishment of such a Bank, the exigencies of the case seemed to demand it. On September 1, 1814, specie payment had been suspended, and the financial outlook was most discouraging. Secretary Dallas considered the situation and then declared that the re-chartering of a National Bank was the only remedy. On October 24, the Congressional Committee of Ways and Means reported that "it was expedient to establish a National Bank, with branches in the several states". The House agreed with this view at once. On November 7 a bill for a new Bank was submitted, which provided for a capitalization of \$50,000,000. Certain conditions of this bill aroused opposition, there was a protracted discussion over the matter, and it was not until March 14, 1816, that the House passed a bill for the re-chartering of a National Bank. The Senate passed the bill on April 3, and on that date the Second Bank of the United States was chartered; but it had taken seven attempts and two years of discussion to reach an agreement.

This Second Bank was chartered for another twenty years, or until 1836. It was capitalized for \$35,000,000, which was divided into 350,000 shares of \$100 each. It was permitted to issue notes and to carry on a general banking business. The direct control of its affairs was in the hands of seven directors, and it was given authority, as in the case of the First Bank, to create secondary or outside banks. These secondary or branch banks were situated in important centers in the Union, and, during the existence of the parent Bank, about twenty-seven of them were established.

William Jones, ex-Secretary of the Treasury, was made its first president; and the Bank began its career on January 7, 1817, facing a serious national financial crisis. Jones's administration was not a successful one; although the stock of the Bank rose to the value of \$156 per share (August, 1818). The Baltimore branch got into difficulties which resulted in a reported loss of about \$3,000,000. President Jones resigned, and James C. Fisher was appointed temporary president. On March 6, 1819, Langdon Cheves was elected head of the Bank. He proved to be the man for the place, and was successful in saving the institution, although, as he said, the Bank "was like a ship without a rudder or sail or masts, on a stormy sea, and far from land". He had to reform the too liberal policy of his predecessor, and to cause the banks of the country to contract their circulation and return to specie payment. He was a most efficient president of the Second Bank and retired from office in October, 1823.

Nicholas Biddle, another excellent financial selection, a member of the famous Philadelphia family, was the next president of this Second Bank. Biddle was born in 1786, and, after graduating at Princeton, became Secretary of Legation, first at Paris and afterwards at London. Later he engaged in literary work of a financial character, and served as a member in both houses of the State legislature. In personality and family he was in utter contrast to President Andrew Jackson, who at the time of Mr. Biddle's election to the presidency of the Bank must have begun to feel greater or less aspirations for election to the Presidency of the Republic.

Under the administration of Mr. Biddle, the prosperity and power of the Second Bank steadily and consistently increased. It had enemies of course; but there was no powerful, concerted hostility to cause its directors any anxiety. The adage that "nothing succeeds like success" could be applied to the financial position of this Bank. In 1829, it was one of the wealthiest financial institutions in the world. It had a capitalization of \$35,000,000; the public funds entrusted to its vaults amounted to six or seven million dollars; its private deposits were about \$6,000,000; its notes or currency in circulation approximated \$12,000,000; its discounts annually were about \$40,000,000; and its yearly earnings or profits were not far from \$3,000,000. It possessed a magnificent marble headquarters in Philadelphia where one hundred clerks were employed; and, including its branch offices, its employees numbered more than five hundred, all of whom were excellent men and received good salaries. The stockholders of this great Bank were to be found both at home and abroad; indeed about one-fifth of the stock was owned by foreign holders. Its bank notes were considered as good as gold in this country; and it was not unusual to hear of sales of its stock at a premium of forty per cent. The Bank was in reality the financial backbone of the Republic, for it not only received but paid out the entire National revenue.

In the election of 1824 Jackson had been defeated; but in the election of 1828 he was successful. His inauguration took place in 1829, and in his first annual message in December, he wrote: "Both the constitutionality and the expediency of the law creating this bank are well questioned by a large portion of our fellow-citizens, and it must be admitted by all that it had failed in the great end of establishing a uniform and sound currency." Then, he suggested that if a national bank were

necessary, one might be devised which would be founded upon the credit of the government and its revenues, thus avoiding such constitutional doubt.

On December 10, 1829, this suggestion was referred to a committee on Ways and Means. On April 13, 1830, this committee made its report, which declared that a National Bank would always be a necessary, that the kind of bank suggested by the President would not be an improvement, and that the idea of governmental control of such a bank was not practical. This reply of the committee was really the formal beginning of President Jackson's war with the Bank, since his message was more in the nature of a preliminary and informal manifesto. But for some time after this report the war consisted wholly of several light skirmishes.

The first of these occurred in respect to the attempted removal of Jeremiah Mason from the head of the Portsmouth, N. H., branch of the Bank. Mr. Mason had accepted the position chiefly because of the request of Daniel Webster, and on taking charge had reformed some of the lax methods in the branch. This offended not a few who did business with the Bank, and Levi Woodbury wrote a letter (June 27, 1829) to Secretary of the Treasury, Samuel D. Ingham, requesting the influence of the government in removing Mr. Mason. On July 11, Secretary Ingham wrote to Mr. Biddle, enclosing the letter, and asserting that other complaints had been received in relation to branch banks in Kentucky and Louisiana. Ingham also intimated that the Bank was engaging in politics. To this Biddle replied that the Bank had never been influenced by politics in making loans or granting favors and that it would never be so influenced. Thereupon the Secretary responded that it was difficult to believe, with all the loans made by the Bank, that there had not been somewhere or at sometime in the management of the institution the employment of politics.

The war went merrily on; but since Congress was mostly on the side of the Bank the battles were all drawn ones. President Jackson became more and more determined in his opposition; but the Bank people seemed to hold the interior of the fort, and there was no way to oust them. In 1831, Thomas H. Benton attacked the Bank, declaring that the issuing of bank notes of all kinds, particularly bank drafts, was a serious financial evil. In a message during that same year Jackson referred to the coming question of re-chartering the Bank; and made it

evident that there was every likelihood of a Presidential veto. At the triennial meeting of the Bank's stockholders which occurred (in Philadelphia,) in 1832, a committee of seven was appointed to petition for a renewal of the charter, should this committee decide it was best to do so. The Presidential election of 1832 was close at hand, and there was some doubt about petitioning until after the election; but, influenced by the optimistic opinion of Henry Clay, who was Jackson's chief rival for the Presidency, the committee decided to present the petition, and did so through George M. Dallas of Pennsylvania who was later Vice-President of the United States. The bill for re-chartering the Bank was vigorously opposed by Benton, who was successful in getting Congress to order an investigation of the Bank. This investigation resulted in three reports; but no good reason for complaint was discovered. The bill then passed the Senate (June 11) by 28 votes to 20, and the House (July 3) by a vote of 109 to 76. As was expected the President vetoed the bill, July 10; declaring that the Bank was a monopoly and that its stock was largely held by foreigners. Senator Benton was of course in favor of this veto, whilst Webster, Clay and Calhoun were as strongly opposed to it.

Despite the efforts of the Bank's Congressional friends, they were unable to muster enough votes to pass the bill over the Presidential veto. Jackson's supporters in Congress were sufficient in number to prevent the requisite two-thirds vote; but Biddle and the other Bank officials were confident that the people at large would be disgusted with Jackson's unreasonable obstinacy. Therefore they put their cause politically before the people, and the Presidential campaign of 1832 was fought on the issue of bank or no bank. It was "Old Hickory" versus a "Monster Monopoly", and as usual "Old Hickory" won. He defeated Henry Clay who advocated the Bank, by a popular vote of 687,000 to 530,000, or, as already stated, by an electoral vote of 219 to 49. This pronounced victory naturally appeared to Jackson as a most glorious vindication, and he proceeded to force the fighting against the Bank. In a message he recommended that the \$7,000,000 worth of its stock which was held by the Government should be sold, and, moreover, intimated that the United States funds in the institution were not safe. Jackson seemed to feel that as long as the Bank held these public funds it might employ them to influence Congress to prolong its financial existence. But although the people had returned the President to power, it had left his opponents in control of Congress; and the legislative bodies not only refused to sell the governmental bank-stock but passed a resolution expressing confidence in the security of the deposited funds.

During the spring and summer of 1833, Jackson and his Cabinet frequently discussed the advisability of removing these deposited funds. Louis McLane was at this time Secretary of the Treasury, and he advised against such a step. William J. Duane, who became Secretary of Treasury in June, refused to take the responsibility of removing these funds from the Bank without the permission of Congress. Roger B. Taney, the Attorney-General, William T. Barry, the Postmaster-General, Levi Woodbury and others were in favor of removing the funds without consent of Congress; and Duane was replaced in office by ex-Attorney-General Taney. On September 26, 1833, Taney issued orders directing that henceforth the deposits of public money should be made in certain designated banks. This stopped the depositing of public money with the second Bank and provided for the gradual withdrawal of all the governmental funds. The banks designated for deposit were chosen with great care and were nicknamed by the opponents of the President "Jackson's Pets".

This arbitrary action of Secretary Taney did not, of course, take place without vigorous protest and opposition. When Congress met in December, 1833, the President notified it of the removal of the deposits. Immediately a storm of discussion arose, and from December, 1833, to June, 1834, almost the sole topic of interest in this country was the removal of the public funds. Clay, of course, was very active, and drew up a "censure resolution" against Jackson, which was passed in the Senate by a vote of 26 to 20 (March 28, 1834). On April 17, President Jackson replied to this resolution by a "protest" which he asked to have placed on record in the Journal of the Senate; but this Presidential request was denied by a senatorial vote of 27 to 16.

Beginning with the 13th of August, 1833, the Second Bank of the United States began to curtail and contract its volume of business, a financial method which was ended on the 16th of September, 1834. This probably was a potent cause for the "hard times" of these years and the accompanying panic. At any rate, the Bank was generally blamed for the business hardships; and became a very unpopular institution. President Biddle obstinately continued his financial methods, hoping to get a new charter as well as to have the public deposits returned to his bank. President Jackson was equally stubborn, despite all petitions and in-

fluences; and in his message of December, 1834, again assailed the Bank. For awhile the second Bank prospered and was a very strong financial institution; but the expiration of its charter was approaching (March 3, 1836).

President Andrew Jackson neither resigned, relented, nor departed this life; but president Nicholas Biddle, although partly defeated, withdrew from the war in good order. He applied for and received from the Pennsylvania Legislature a state charter, which was granted and approved by the governor on February 18, 1836. This was thirteen days before the expiration of the Bank's national charter. This state charter of the second Bank was very much like its old charter, but it was for a term of thirty years. Therefore, President Biddle did not even wind up the affairs of his Bank; but, after the 3d of March, 1836, the second Bank of the United States simply went on doing business under the new state-title of the "United States' Bank of Pennsylvania."

With this change in name, the war between President Jackson and President Biddle came to an end, with President Jackson in possession of the battlefield. He had not, however, routed his enemy. President Biddle continued to be at the head of the United States Bank of Pennsylvania until March, 1839; but the financial career of this state bank was really not a prosperous one. In 1843 it actually failed; owing in large part to reckless management and indiscriminate investments.

Very appositely for Mr. Holmes' article, a Jackson letter appears in a Boston auction catalogue. As it is only the draft, not the finished a letter, it is impossible to say whom it was addressed to, but probably to Van Buren, who was then President.

Dated at Hermitage, 1837

It is an original draft (wholly in Jackson's hand) of a letter respecting the U. S. Bank. It will be perceived that his (adopted) son, Andrew Jackson Donelson, was ostensibly, the writer of the letter forwarded—(Ed.)

"As long as my father lives he will cordially unite with the President of the United States [to] carry out the measures that must lead to a restoration of the currency to the standard of value [of] gold and silver coin. He desires me to say to you that he has no fear of the republic as long as the great bone and sinew of the country, that is to say, the labour of the country, sustains him—it is this great interest, the Democracy, that the aristocracy of the few, who by the banking and depreciated rag paper system intend to make hewers of wood and drawers of water for them—it is upon the labour of the country that

the depreciation falls, whilst the bankers, the stockholders & speculators are making fortunes without labour from the sweat of the brow of labour. Surely then the the labourers will sustain the Executive in putting down this rag shinplaster system & aid him in restoring to labour the Banks to that rule that their paper shall be really what it purports to be on its face, the representative of specie."

Whether Jackson was right or wrong in his war against the second Bank of the United States is not within the province of this short essay. That phase of our most intense financial fight has been pretty thoroughly threshed out, years ago. But this famous contest of President Jackson with the Bank presents an interesting study of how a strong-willed, obstinate, violent-tempered, persistent and energetic man was able to thwart and defy great men like Webster, Clay and Calhoun, and to attack and vanquish such a well-conducted, wealthy and powerful financial institution as the second Bank of the United States of America.

CHARLES NEVERS HOLMES.

NORTHAMPTON, MASS.



THE FLAG OF THE UNITED STATES

EUROPEANS knowing only the theory of the heraldic origin of the American flag have made merry over the absurdity (from their point of view) of the stars and stripes. Frederic Harrison has thus written (*Memories and Thoughts*, pp. 195, 196):

"When the thirteen States of the Union resolved to adopt a national flag from the ancestral coat of their chief," etc.—which they did not—they blundered frightfully. Than the stars and stripes, "nothing more artless, confused and unheraldic can be conceived."

Harrison is right if the American flag be derived from English heraldry, in which the stars are always six-pointed. If, however, the basis of our national standard is derived from the Dutch Republic, then much is clear.

The American flag is not a lower limb of feudalism, nor does its blue field (it has no "canton") contain a collection of horse spurs. After the noble example of a federal republic, itself based on a written constitution, our national banner suggests more than a family coat of arms, or a league of states.

Asked to forget his nursery lore and to judge "Old Glory" simply "as a work of art," Mr. Frederic Harrison answered: "It is both awkward and ugly, unbalanced, undecipherable and mechanical." This is a correct answer, when the only medium of view is a ridiculous theory. If, however, our fathers followed in their flag-making what they themselves called "our great example," the successful Dutch Republic, the stars and stripes are beautiful, proportionate, intelligible, alive with historic meaning and inspiring for the future.

Paintings made after the Revolutionary War are untrustworthy as witnesses, especially those having six-pointed stars, for the very simple reason that no proof yet exists to show that any regimental flag in the Continental army had stars in its field, unless possibly toward the end of the war. Scores of British prints representing flags captured from, or seen on, Continental ships or regimental staves, have only stripes.

Our fathers, of the thirteen colonies united as one, made "an appeal to Heaven" by uniting, on their first flag, raised at Cambridge, Mass., January 1, 1776, the "unions" of the two countries, Netherlands and Great Britain, that had held sovereignty of the land they lived on.

Out of what soil sprang this new flower in the garden of national emblems, in 1776? To answer aright, we must realize how our fathers felt, what precedents of success were before them, what ancestral memories stirred their hearts and what language, besides English, had long been spoken in the mid-colonies. Ships' flags would, of course, be noted first.

Of European national flags daily seen in our harbors, two were prominent above all. One, the Dutch, was made in 1579, the other the British in 1707. From 1609 to 1664, the tricolor republican flag of a federal union of states had floated over New Netherland, or the soil of the four middle colonies, later called New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware, as the flag of the homeland. The seven alternate red and white stripes recalled to our fathers, in 1776, the successful revolt against "taxation without representation," or, as the Dutch Parliament of 1477 put it, "no taxation without consent"; the union of seven states in a republic; a July declaration of independence, published in 1579; with the abjuring, in 1581, of an oppressive monarch. Both of these immortal Dutch documents were in the language vernacular to many of the people of New York and New Jersey. This striped flag stood for seven states particular united in one States-General, or Congress, and was used on ships invariably. Every stripe represented a state, each one having an equal vote. With a written constitution, a judiciary free from the executive, and public schools free to all and sustained by taxation, the Dutch republic, a living reality in 1775, was at many points our fathers' model.

How do we know this? By asking John Adams and Benjamin Franklin, two men especially versed in history! John Adams wrote:

"The originals of the two republics (Dutch and American) are so much alike, that the history of one seems but a transcript from that of the other."

Franklin, who was at the time in the camp with Washington at Cambridge, wrote later to Congress:

"In love of liberty and bravery in the defense of it, she (Holland) has been our great example."

A Dutch orator voting to recognize and lend money to the Contin-

ental Congress (\$14,000,000 when paid up in 1808), spoke of ours as a "nation so brave and so virtuous which, *after our example*, owes its liberty to its valor."

In a word, the emblems and the precedents of a successful republic, familiar through history as read in their vernacular language, were daily before the eyes of the mid-colonials of America, in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware, as a living example. Though the law-language was English, preaching, writing and conversation in New York, and New Jersey and parts of Pennsylvania and Delaware were, for tens of thousands, in Dutch. The symbol of a striped flag, representing a federal republic, was familiar to every man of Dutch descent, and to most intelligent persons in the four middle colonies. It represents unity of idea and purpose in as many provinces, that had taken up arms for their rights. Borrowed directly from the Dutch Republic, the assemblage of parallel stripes had, in one form or another, always been a daily object to the people in the seaports, since their first settlements on the Hudson, Raritan and Delaware, over 150 years before. On the ships' flags, in church, guild and society emblems, and on the title pages of their Bibles, hymn books and family libraries, the seven stripes formed one of the commonest objects in the home. In the middle colonies, Dutch did not become a dead language till long after A. D. 1800.

The Continental Congress was organized on the same principles, and for the same purpose, as was the body of the delegates forming the Union of Utrecht in 1579; that is, to have all the provinces or colonies act as one in carrying on measures of peace in the name of their sovereign. In the Pennsylvania "State House" (the very name and use of the words are Dutch), the Declaration of Independence was signed under the British flag and the arms of King George, and not until July 9 were the British union jack and the royal arms taken down from the building now called Independence Hall. Not until September 9, 1776, did Congress order that their commissions and instruments be made to read "United States" where heretofore the words "United Colonies" had been used. They fully expected that the people in Canada would feel as they did and join them. This is proved by the vote of June 17, 1775, appointing George Washington to the command of the Continental, or United Colonies', army. The record reads:

"Whereas, the delegates of all the colonies *from Nova Scotia to*

Georgia (italics ours) in Congress assembled have unanimously chosen George Washington, Esq., to be General and Commander-in-Chief of such forces as are or shall be, raised for the maintenance and preservation of American, liberty."

The stripes have never left the flag, because they represent a vital, fundamental idea. They have been from first to last the one permanent element in our national standard. When unfurled, January 1, 1776, the first Union flag raised over the first American army mirrored true history.

There was nothing new in this Continental flag. The vital elements composing it had been familiar objects representing the union of seven states in a republic; the one for nearly two centuries, the other, in the form then known, a union of four nations in a monarchy, for sixty-eight years. This flag at once gave the clearest possible acknowledgment of the sovereignty of Great Britain and of American loyalty, besides a superb demonstration of the unity of the colonists. The legal status of the thirteen united colonies was precisely that of the Dutch provinces in relation to their sovereign, during the 550 days from January 23, 1579, to July 26, 1581; when, having first formed the union, they deposed their king, when he refused to listen to their petitions for redress, and became independent.

Flags many, of astonishing variety of color, inscription and emblem, came into view and use. There were pine trees, rattlesnakes, beavers, threefold knotted cords, with their thirteen ends free, a chain or circle of thirteen rings linked together, and other objects notably American, with some borrowed from heraldry, or from British or Dutch history. In the latter case, the sheaf of arrows, the hat of liberty, and the Netherlands lion were ancestral. The old coins, flags, house pictures and battle scenes of the old Dutch republic in books brought from dyke-land were, in the four middle colonies, as familiar as was Dutch speech. Nevertheless, there was nothing as yet which necessarily inculcated, which much might suggest, independence; though emblems of loyalty to King George became decreasingly visible.

Meanwhile, officers of the seventeen Continental men-of-war and of scores of privateers kept clamoring for something significant to display in foreign ports, especially while buying munitions of war. These calls for a "distinctive standard" increased in volume even to indignant remonstrance. Still there was nothing, until June 14, 1777, except local

or colonial symbols and "the Congress flag" of the thirteen stripes; for there was not until after July 4, 1776, any nation, or any general conviction that independence was necessary.

No evidence of any use of the British "Union," after October 4, 1776, is known, for all thought of organic relations with Great Britain had been dropped forever. The Dutch idea of the unity of a number of states in federal union, which had excited William Penn's interest as the prototype even of a United States of Europe, was, however, kept and has been maintained to the present hour. Abundance of exact documentary proof shows that the thirteen stripes were ever present, but there is no proof that the stars were. In the book of photographs of extant flags used, or alleged to be used, in the American Revolution (made by Gherardi Davis, New York, 1908) the field of stars is rarely seen and in none with absolute surety, before 1780, but the stripes are always in evidence. The collection of British prints of our flag, now in Fraunces Tavern, gives the same testimony—stripes always, stars never till 1780. In the journal of William Russell, American prisoner in the Forton Prison, near Plymouth, England, we read the entry made on July 4, 1780:

"Today being the anniversary of American Independence, the American prisoners wore the thirteen Stars and Stripes drawn on pieces of paper on their hats, with the motto, *Independence, Liberty or Death.*"

The lateness of the date is significant.

The record of the Continental Congress, June 14, 1777, is illuminating. It reads as follows:

"*Resolved*, That the flag of the United States be thirteen stripes, alternate red and white, that the Union be thirteen stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation." Every word of this, our flag's charter, should be studied with care, for the record reveals what was old and what was new. There is no "canton," heraldry or feudalism here. A constellation is "a group of fixed stars to which a definite name has been given, but which does not form a part of another named group." Forty-eight constellations had been known in astronomy since Ptolemy's time. In the political heavens the cluster of thirteen stars was new. There was nothing novel about the red and white stripes, nor was a federal union of states, though unknown in

Great Britain, a new experiment, because the Dutch Republic was, and for two centuries had been, a contemporaneous, living reality before our fathers. The field of stars was new. No longer were there thirteen nameless, wandering planets forming part of another named group. They were now fixed luminaries, with a definite name, independent yet united together—*e pluribus unum*. Outliving the perils of loose confederacy, troubles internal and external, sectionalism, false theories, filibusterism, and a colossal civil war, this Country of the New Constellation has shown itself to be "an indissoluble Union of indestructible States," of which our flag is the true emblem.

When the infallible and contemporaneous record of a regimental flag with stars is found, we can believe that there were starry battle flags before 1780, but we want proof, not argument. The entry in the journal of Captain Abraham Swarthout of Colonel Gansevoort's New York regiment, written August 3, 1777, in Fort Schuyler, shows beyond cavil where the first flag of stars and stripes, of which we have record, was made and hoisted; but this was in a fort, not in the field, nor at the head of a regiment.

Hence, to put up local memorials in other places, insisting with much enthusiasm, but with faulty logic and without contemporaneous written proof, that because of the not yet published Congressional action, flags with a field of stars were made and carried *in situ*, by regiments or detached companies, is disorderly. Such a method substitutes mythology for history, wish for fact, local emotion for reality. The record should precede the memorial. Legislatures had better wait for demonstration of proof before making appropriations. A brilliant advocate's brief ought never take the place of commonplace record, nor "it is said" be accepted for "it is written." On some subjects we must wait for further light.

The vote of Congress on the flag was not officially published until September 3, 1777. There is no record that the stars and stripes were carried at Brandywine, Pa., at Gooch's Bridge, Del., or that even the "Quiberon" French salute of November 1, 1777, to the U. S. S. "Ranger," commanded by Paul Jones, was given to any but the striped flag without stars. If stars were on these flags, let us have "the written word" of proof, not argument, however subtle.

On land, the most prominent of all the many symbols on the regi-

mental flags of the Continental army throughout the war was the rattlesnake, which is oftenest referred to by both native and foreign witnesses. In fact the resolution of Congress of June 14, 1777, was not heeded, even by Washington himself, or even by the Board of War. One Continental officer wrote with surprise on August 3, 1777: "It appears by the papers that Congress resolved on the 14th of June last," etc. As late as May 10, 1779, Washington, in correspondence with the Board of War, states that applications came to him repeatedly for drums and colors, but there were many varying flags for particular regiments, and "it is not yet settled what is the standard of the United States."

The War Board replied, through Richard Peters, that if "General Washington would favor the Board with his opinion on the subject as to what was the one common flag of the United States," a recommendation to Congress would be made and they would get the materials and "order a number for the army."

Replying on September 3, 1779, Washington says nothing about stars, but recommended that the number belonging to the regiments from each State should be "inserted within the curve of the serpent."

As our country expanded, the inconvenience of adding a stripe to what seemed destined to be a union of perhaps a hundred states was evident. The debate of 1817, held in Congress, issued in the arrangement of 1818, "calculated to prevent in future great or extensive alteration." The original number of thirteen was held to as signifying history, permanence and unity; while on the blue field there was prophecy, the white stars multiplying as in a firmament.

Nevertheless there being no rule as to the order of the constellation, foreigners were perplexed. In 1847 the Dutch Government politely made the inquiry, "What is the American flag?" In 1857, in the harbor of New York, nine different styles of arrangement of stars were noted in one day. On March 16, 1896, the Secretary of War, Daniel Lamont, ordered that the constellation should be in six rows. Happily with Arizona making the forty-eighth star, it is now possible to have symmetry in six rows of eight stars each.

To sum up: Our flag in origin was not "the sport of chance," or "a creation of circumstances," or a shoot from the stump of dead feudalism, or a fancy of heraldry, but a true symbol of a progressive, expand-

ing union of states on the basis of a federal republic. It follows precedent in history, but is original in prophecy. Its stripes represent what was, its stars point to the future. With its origin so clear, there is no need of mythology, heraldry, or pretty fairy tales to account either for its origin or growth.

Each State, while honoring her own emblem of sovereignty, counts only one more sacred than her own—the Stars and Stripes. Above “Old Glory” Americans allow nothing to float save that church-flag, on our ships and in our forts, which calls men to worship “the Power that made and preserves us a nation.”

WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS, D.D.

Independent, N. Y.

ITHACA, N. Y.



THE COUNTIES OF RHODE ISLAND

NO OTHER State, save Delaware, contains so few counties as does Rhode Island. But few as they are, there is not one of them which does not involve in its history some vital interests or some incident attached to the origin of its name, rendering its story worth telling.

The first employment in the Colony of the term County was itself an indignity, and constituted a very real grievance. During the happily short-lived administration of Sir Edmund Andros, while the royal charter was suspended in Rhode Island, the whole Colony was absorbed bodily into what was styled "The Territory and Dominion of New England", and located therein as a single county, being actually so called in the records of the Courts of Quarter Session (an English county designation) held in Newport, 1687-8.

It is related, to the honor of the seven inhabitants of the Colony,—Richard Arnold, Walter Clark, John Coggeshall, John Greene, Walter Newbury, John Sanford and Richard Smith,—appointed to the legislative Council of Andros, that not one of them appears to have served. It is noticeable that county distinctions in Rhode Island have not been regarded as of so much importance, politically and socially, as in many other states, especially in the South, as for example Maryland and Virginia, where it is customary to give one's residence as this or that county—the county being the political unit. I remember being once asked where I lived—by a not over-intelligent Virginian who on my replying "Rhode Island", exclaimed "why, what county is that?" He could neither imagine anyone's living outside the "Old Dominion," if he could help it, nor recall that particular geographical division within it. Sometimes, in Virginia, large centres are made secondary to counties, even the city of Richmond appearing almost subsidiary, in prominence, to Henrico County.

But not to go so far afield as the South, there has lately come to the surface in Connecticut, in the process of Congressional redistricting, a trace of old county pride; the assignment of towns, in a particular county, to different districts arousing, as a matter of sentiment, a vigorous and effective protest, no county of the State being thus finally divided except that of New Haven. But in Rhode Island the designation, many

years ago, of a portion of Providence County to the Eastern Congressional District, another remainder to the Western, is not remembered to have met with opposition.

It is true, however, that even in this State county divisions acquired in old times a peculiar kind of prominence because the sturdy spirit of independence characteristic of Rhode Island demanded the holding of the General Assembly in each one of the counties in turn; the smallest of all the states possessing thus five capitals. Hence it came about that it was at the Court House in little East Greenwich, the shire-town of Kent County, that the abolition of the royal charter was accomplished by the adoption of the present constitution, November 5, 1842. But long ago the State capitals were reduced to two, Providence and Newport, the latter also being finally dropped.

The only trace remaining of the former peripatetic Assembly is the perpetuation of the custom of holding the State courts, as well as local ones, successively in each county, even though the practice involves the inconvenience of often detaining in the county many whose business takes them daily to the chief city, and always obliging most of the court officials to travel some distance into the county: yet the traditional custom will probably long outweigh the obvious expediency of centering all the courts in Providence. When, however, some years since, fire threatened the East Greenwich court house, the leading citizen of the town, a venerable physician, with his own hands carried water to protect it, because he saw that with existing conditions, once destroyed it would never be rebuilt.

There are, and long have been, five counties in Rhode Island. Three, approximately rectangular. Providence in the north, Kent in the centre and Washington in the South—occupy the main body of the State. One—Bristol—is formed of a fringe of towns, originally quite isolated from the rest, on the eastern shore of Narragansett Bay. The last, Newport—comprises the relatively disproportionately large insular portion of the State, consisting of about a dozen islands, big and little, together with two mainland towns on the south-eastern coast.

We will now proceed to consider the five counties in the order of their organization. Providence County was of course named after its chief town, which Roger Williams, in gratitude for God's mercies, had previously called Providence. This county, undoubtedly the oldest, is

commonly said to have been incorporated at the session of the General Assembly June 22, 1703. It is certain that it was in existence as early as that date, it being then enacted that two Courts of Common Pleas should be held "in the county known by the name of Providence Plantations"; but there are certain reasons for concluding it had previously existed in some form. No record appears, as in the case of Newport County, a little later in the same session, of its being enacted that "there shall be a county" by the name of Providence Plantations. Rather is it, as just stated, referred to incidentally as the county known "by the name of Providence Plantations," exactly as if it were already a familiar designation. Then there is a well-recognized tradition that the town of Providence originally comprised the whole county, but at the date cited—June 22, 1703—it embraced all the mainland of the State, in which were four original towns besides Providence. It can, too, be easily shown that never, since 1703, has Providence comprised the whole county; if, therefore, that proposition were ever true, it must have been so previous to June 22, 1703.

Were the question to be raised how there could have been a Providence Plantation County by itself, before there existed any other county, it might be imagined that even then some sort of a county government was formed, by common consent, for the large rural territory outside the town, through a memory of county institutions in England. The use of the term "shire-town" seems in itself a sort of echo of old home traditions. Providence, in connection with the enactment as to holding the courts, in 1703, is spoken of as *the* shire-town—i. e., the principal town of the territory "sheared off" from the next to form a county. The county of Providence Plantations would thus seem to have been a sort of spontaneous growth, its origin like that of many other primitive forms, being lost in the mists of the passing years.

In June, 1729, the county was divided, as will be shown later, and the name of the original part changed to Providence County. In January, 1746-7, there were set off from Massachusetts to Rhode Island by royal decree, five towns, of which one, formerly called Attleborough Gore, but then known as Cumberland (after the duke the "butcher of Culloden") was annexed to Providence County, forming its N. E. angle, as well as that of the State. In June, 1750, Providence County was again reduced, a portion being taken from it to make Kent County. The remainder, with the additions of Pawtucket and East

Providence, taken from Massachusetts, in the settlement of the boundary question in 1862, has remained intact, occupying all the northern part of the State.

After the recognition of the county of Providence Plantations, in 1703, it was enacted that "Rhode Island, with the rest of the island within the said Colony shall be a county by the name of Rhode Island County," and that "Newport shall be the shire-town." The State was thus early divided into two counties, one wholly continental, the other wholly insular. It was eminently proper that the name of the principal island should be given to the insular county; but it was nevertheless changed, in 1729, to Newport County. Besides Newport the original County included Portsmouth, in the northern part of Rhode Island, Jamestown, on Conanicut Island, and New Shoreham on Block Island. When—in 1746-7—the five towns were set off from Massachusetts to Rhode Island, two, Tiverton and Little Compton, on the eastern side of Mount Hope Bay and Seacomet River, were annexed to Newport County. In 1862 at the boundary settlement the part of Tiverton called Fall River, R. I., was ceded to Massachusetts and became part of the present city of Fall River.

After Providence County, embracing all the mainland, had been continued from 1703 to 1729, it was concluded that the increase in population required a division of its territory into two counties. The part originally called the Narragansett County,—and after March 20, 1664, King's Providence—including three towns, South Kingstown, North Kingstown and Westerly (the three are now eight) was, on June 16, 1729, incorporated as King's County, with South Kingstown as the shire-town all to the north remaining for more than twenty years, Providence County. Toward the end of the Revolution the patriotic sentiment of the State was shown by the passage of the following act: "Whereas, since the Declaration of the Independence of the United States of America, it becomes the wisdom of the rising republic to obliterate, as far as may be, any trace and idea of that government which threatened our destruction; Be it therefore enacted by this General Assembly, and by the authority thereof it is hereby enacted that the name of King's County, by which the southernmost county in this State was heretofore distinguished shall forever hereafter cease; and that, in perpetual and grateful remembrance of the eminent and most distinguished services and heroic actions of the illustrious Commander-in-Chief of the forces of the United

States of America, the said County shall forever hereafter be known and called, in all legislative acts, legal proceedings, conveyances, etc., by the name and style of Washington".* Besides the above recognized names of this County, it has long been affectionately called by its inhabitants "the South County". It is doubtful whether any other community in the State has retained so much old-fashioned county pride as Washington County.

It was more than a century after the settlement of Rhode Island before the present Bristol County was severed from the Plymouth Colony and annexed to that occupying most of the region around Narragansett Bay. By royal decree, May 28, 1746, as before cited, the Eastern boundary of the Rhode Island Colony was settled, and its jurisdiction extended over the towns of Bristol, Warren, Tiverton, Little Compton and Cumberland. The first two—Bristol and Warren (Warren being later divided to form the town of Barrington) were incorporated February 17, 1746-7, as the County of Bristol, named, like the great adjoining county in Massachusetts, after the original chief town of the whole, itself taking its name from Bristol, England. Its limits have since remained unaltered, with Bristol as the shire-town. It is curious to the visitor to the latter to notice there, after its union for more than a century and a half with the land of Roger Williams, traces of its previous years of intimate association with the Pilgrim and the Puritan.

The youngest of Rhode Island's counties is that taken from Providence County, June 11, 1750, comprising the four towns of East and West Greenwich, Warwick and Coventry, and forming the heart of the Commonwealth. The origin of its name of Kent appears to be involved with that of its county or shire-town, East Greenwich. It has long been a tradition, with no assignable foundation, that the latter was named for East Greenwich in England. It is very remarkable that this town should have been named East Greenwich sixty-four years before there was a West Greenwich near; but perhaps a solution of the anomaly may be found in some of the circumstances attending the organization of the town. At the close of King Philip's War, when many of the soldiers by reason of their courage and sacrifice, had deserved well of the Colony, a large tract of land on the western shore of the Bay was divided into hundred acre shares "for the accommodating of so many of the inhabitants of this Colony as stand in need of land"; and an Act was brought into

*Proceedings of the Gen. Assembly on the last Monday in October. 1781.

the Assembly October 31, 1677, for the erection of this plantation into a town. At the opening of the session at which this business was to come up, it so happened that according to former order the royal charter, probably for the first time, on such an occasion, was read before the Assembly. In it, written in the name of Charles II, in defining the sort of tenure by which the freemen of Rhode Island were to hold their lands there occurs the clause "to be holden of us, our heires and successours, as of the Mannor of East Greenwich, in our county of Kent". The site of Greenwich Hospital and Observatory, on the Thames, a few miles below London, was formerly long occupied by a royal palace called Greenwich House, Placentia, or the Pleasaunce, and some of the land in the eastern part of the royal domain had evidently been granted to certain persons by the same kind of tenure, viz: "free and common soccage"; by which it was now the King's pleasure to convey to the Governor and Company of the English Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, the lands on Narragansett Bay. When the high-sounding phrases of the charter, as they had rolled in rotund fashion, from the lips of John Sanford, the Clerk, were still sounding in the ears of the Assembly, the business of incorporating the new town came up, if an other name was spoken it may be that some member, or perhaps the president, Governor Benedict Arnold, suggested: "Why not call it East Greenwich, after the Manor in our County of Kent, of which we have just been hearing?" In any case, when the bill was passed it read: "This Assembly does enact and declare that the said plantation shall be a towne, by the name and title of East Greenwich, in His Majesty's Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations." It is a curious token of its consciousness of its royal associations that the new town soon proceeded to bestow upon its few and humble streets such grand titles—still remaining—as King, Queen, London, Duke and Marlborough. How probable is it too, that at the time many years later, of the establishment of the new county, including the town, some influential citizen, it may have been Governor William Greene, the president of the Assembly and an inhabitant of the territory to be included, or Thomas Spencer, the first white child born in East Greenwich, now a member of the Assembly, suggested that as so long before the name of the shire-town had been taken from the royal charter, they might now properly go on to adopt from the same source the name for the new County. And so it was done, and again could Charles II, if alive, have talked of "East Greenwich in our county of Kent." It is related that many years ago, a letter addressed (in the

United States) to some one in "East Greenwich, Kent County, Road Island" was missent to England, and finally returned here, with the amusing but significant endorsement "No such road in Kent county as Road Island." The association of the county with the far more ancient Kent in England has always been a matter of a very mild form of pride on the part of the older citizens. The very honorable independent military company, with which were originally connected General Nathanael Greene and James M. Varume, and which has survived for a hundred and thirty-seven years, bears the title of "The Kentish Guards." So, too, has the name of the county been embalmed in Bishop Burgess's spirited lyrics of 1842—

Old Narragansett rang with arms
And rang the silver bay;
And that sweet coast whose girdled charms
Were Philip's ancient sway;
And our own island's halcyon scene
The black artillery rent;
And answered from the home of Greene
The men of dauntless Kent.

Since 1750 the counties of the State have remained substantially unchanged. This chronicle is slight because the counties are so few. In the words of a bard of old, "If the bowl had been stronger, My song had been longer."

DANIEL GOODWIN.

EAST GREENWICH, R. I.



A PONCE DE LEON DOCUMENT OF 1509

THE conquest of Porto Rico by Juan Ponce de Leon began in 1508 under a commisison granted him on June 15 of that year by the Spanish governor of the West Indies. Ponce reached the coast of Porto Rico on August 12, 1508, explored for a time, established a Spanish post near the site of the modern city of San Juan, and in the spring of 1509 was again with the governor to report that he had found some rich gold deposits, had begun their development, and was desirous of certain privileges permitting further action in that direction. The governor thereupon issued under date of May 1, 1509 the supplementary commission here following, in which the control of the new deposits is explicitly covered. Under the powers thus granted Juan Ponce steadily developed the placer deposits of Porto Rico for the next few years. Meanwhile a change in the government of the West Indies came about. The heir of Christopher Columbus secured from the Council of State a decree of June 17, 1511, restoring to him the discoverer's viceroial rights in the islands. Shortly afterward, on February 23, 1512, the Spanish home government issued to Sancho Velasquez, procurador fiscal of the colonies, a warrant to review the administration of those Porto Rican properties which Juan Ponce had been developing for the joint benefit of the crown and himself. A copy of the commission given in 1509 to Ponce, annotated with comments by the crown lawyers and sent to Velasquez for his guidance, was inserted in the record of the formal inquiry begun by Velasquez October 5, 1512. Seven years later, in 1519, when both Ponce and Velasquez were parties to further proceedings connected with the Porto Rican properties, this and other portions of the earlier inquiry were again placed upon the record. By this devious way the text of the commission has been perserved. It may be found in Coleccion de Documentos Ineditos, vol. 34, pp. 357-363.
L. D. SCISCO.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

In the town of La Concepcion, of this island, the first day of the month of May, the year of the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ one thousand, five hundred and nine, Companion Don Nicolas Dovando, Grand Commander of the Order and Knighthood of Alcantara, Governor of these islands and the mainland of the ocean sea for the King, our lord, having seen the report that Juan Ponce de Leon gave of what he had

done in the island of San Juan in fulfillment of an agreement that was made with him in the town of Santo Domingo on the fifteenth day of the month of June, one thousand five hundred and eight, and having seen the report and opinion that now the said Juan Ponce gives, of what further, it appeared to him, ought to be accomplished, the said Governor for His Highness with the said Juan Ponce agreed in this manner:

The said Juan Ponce may go to the said island of San Juan and may order the making of the greatest number of farms that he can for His Highness in the limits of the settlement that he had to make and of the mines that shall have been discovered in the said island, because such is expedient for the service of His Highness and the purpose of the settlers that are to go there to colonize; and the expenses that he will make in doing it he may repay to himself from the profit that shall be had from the said property;

And license is given to the said Juan Ponce that he can make a farming plantation for himself with the Indians of the said island, of the sort that is customary in the island of Espanola, and that likewise he can provide some Indians to his lieutenant Gil Calderon in order that he can make tillage for himself, the which is left to the said Juan Ponce that he may do according as occasion will permit it and without offence to, and distaste on the part of, the Indians;

Item: That the said Juan Ponce de Leon may cause to gather gold in the mines of the said island, withal, the very greatest number of people that can; and of all the gold that he might gather His Highness may take away first of all the fifth, and afterward the remainder may be divided into two parts, one for His Highness and the other for the said Juan Ponce, without His Highness contributing anything for what will be done in gathering the said gold; and the other part may be for the said Juan Ponce, as is said, by reason of the effort and expense that in obtaining the said gold he has to make;

And license is given him, in order that he can get aid for himself in the said island and from the other neighboring islands, he may open some way, and that he may hold the chiefs and Indians of them provided that he may not do it by putting the Indians in need should it be contrary to the wish of them, and making amends for it to his own satisfaction;

Furthermore; That he may return to their country the Caribs that

he brought hence, and he may labor to influence them and may bring it about that the said Caribs return the Indians that they have carried away from the said island of San Juan; and this done, he may cause them to understand how they are to have knowledge of the service of God and of the King our lord, and that he may cause the making of a convent in the island of Santa Cruz where they are;

And license is given him that he can make a brigantine, that there may be of secure navigation the most that can be, and there may be put in it very good provision and such guard as is proper, that if the said Carib chiefs should not wish to do that which is right, he may have the said brigantine in order to be able to punish for it and defend the Indians of the said island of San Juan;

Likewise there is given him license that some Christian persons that are in the said island, officials of command and others, can consume in the mines of the said island at least eighty cargas of bread, shared among the persons that it might appear to the said Juan Ponce deserved it, to the extent of the said quantity, paying of the gold that they might acquire the fifth to His Highness as is done in this island;

Furthermore license is given him that in the boat of which Alonzo Sarmino is shipmaster, in which the said Juan Ponce has a share, which at this time is fitted out in the port of Santo Domingo, he can carry to the said island of San Juan his wife and children, and certain swine and young cattle that they have on this island, and boats; and that with his said wife he may cause to be carried the wife of Pedro Campinaro and the wife of Diego Gomez, who are in the town of Salvaleon de Yquey, since the said persons, their husbands, are in the said island;

Item: License is given to the said Juan Ponce that he may discontinue the property that he has in this island and may hold the Indians that in it are assigned to him, inasmuch as he is going and is occupying himself in the service of His Highness;

The said charge was imposed upon and the said agreement confirmed to the said Juan Ponce de Leon in so far as His Highness ordered provided for in all those things that there might be to do in the said island, and with the authority that he is to possess with the charge that he has of colonizing it, because then he might do that which might work most to the service of His Highness, fulfilling his royal command.

NOTES BY THE WAY

A FAMOUS CAMPAIGN

It is not generally known, says a Murfreesboro correspondent of the Nashville *Tennessean*, that there is now living at Walter Hill, a village nine miles north of this city, the only survivor of that ill-fated Nicaraguan expedition undertaken in the year 1857 by General William Walker of Nashville, Tenn., known as "The Gray-Eyed Man of Destiny; but such is a fact. This survivor is Robert H. Young, a quiet, unassuming and substantial farmer. Mr. Young is also a Confederate veteran. Owing to the excessive modesty of Mr. Young and his indisposition to face the limelight, it was found very difficult to induce him to give to the world even a brief résumé of his experiences. However, he consented to the publication of the following, which will be given in his own language:

"As a boy of fourteen or fifteen years of age I was working on the famous Nashville and New Orleans packet, Red Rover, as cabin boy, Captain Strong in command; Captain Peters head pilot and Thomas J. Leck first mate. I believe that W. C. Collier, who was later a well-known Nashville merchant, was also a cabin boy. I was known as the 'Texas tender' and my duties consisted in looking after the quarters of the officers.

"In January or February, 1857, we made a trip to New Orleans, where I met some boys from Nashville, who were preparing to start to Nicaragua with a man called Captain Titus, to join General William Walker. Among the boys was Dick McCann, afterwards one of the best known men of Nashville, with whom I was well acquainted. Captain Titus gave us a most glowing account of the country which we were to conquer and he assured us that within a very short time each of us would be the happy possessor of 640 acres of the most fertile land on earth and owners of scores of slaves and all of the gold that we could ever desire. He read letters to us, purporting to be from General Walker, which so inflamed our desire for fame and wealth that McCann and I immediately determined to cast our lots with Walker. After Captain Titus had enlisted several others from Tennessee and other Southern

States, we were embarked on the little steamer Texas and cleared for Cuba, as we could not enter the ports of Nicaragua openly. We did not stop at any Cuban port, but sailed on to San Juan del Norte, where we were regularly mustered into the service.

"We at once entered upon an active campaign, contending with the enemy from the San Juan River. Our first battle with the Costa Ricans was at Cody's Point. We completely routed the enemy and drove them from that section. This was during the rainy season and the ground was simply in a fearsome condition and cholera got among our men and they died faster than we could bury the bodies. As the enemy retreated before us they increased our sufferings and death rate by throwing the dead bodies of their own men into wells and streams, so that all of the wells were contaminated and rendered unfit for use. After many hardships and daily fighting, we were at last enabled to join General Walker at Rivas.

"The failure of the expedition, and the subsequent execution of General Walker and most of his men are matters of history. Owing to my extreme youth I was paroled and learning of an English captain who offered to take such of us back to New Orleans as wished to go, I joined a small party of survivors and went to San Juan del Norte, where we found the captain and his vessel, the Tartar, and we were safely landed in New Orleans."

In the interim between the return of Mr. Young to New Orleans and the breaking out of the Civil War he travelled extensively over the country, leading as much a life of adventure as was possible in a lawful manner. At the breaking out of the Civil War he enlisted in a company from Nashville. He was at Fort Donelson when it fell, but he made his escape with Forrest's command, carrying with him a boy of his own age, who was badly wounded. He remembers the boy's name as Simpkins and thinks he lived near Kingston Springs. He participated in no less than twenty-two important battles and carries evidence in three places of the marksmanship of the Federal soldiers. At the battle of Murfreesboro he was desperately wounded, but strange to relate, he again carried from the field Simpkins, the same boy he saved from Fort Donelson, Simpkins being again wounded.

Mr. Young joined the independent Scouts under Captain Bill Forrest and everyone at all familiar with the history of that famous organization will know that from that day till the final surrender of the Southern armies Mr. Young led an active and adventurous life.

TO BUY SULGRAVE MANOR

A movement for the purchase of Sulgrave Manor, the home of George Washington's ancestors, by public subscription in America and England, is to be started by the "National Committee for the Celebration of the 100th Anniversary of Peace Among English Speaking Peoples in 1914-15." The chairman of the committee is Andrew Carnegie and the honorary chairman is Theodore Roosevelt.

The executive committee of the national committee met lately at 54 West Fortieth street and resolved to bring about the purchase of Sulgrave Manor, which is for sale, "as a memorial to the founder of the Republic." An address to the public is to be issued and a public meeting will be called.

Tentative plans of the national committee, which was created in January last, were announced recently. A committee will confer with representative Britishers in London with a view to forming an international committee. In Japan Hamilton Holt is to see about Japanese participation and Job E. Hedges will represent the American body in a conference at Ghent.

Originally there were several movements in the United States for a celebration of the Ghent centenary. Some of these have been merged with the greater scheme. One of them is for the erection of a memorial bridge, possibly by joint subscription of the United States and Canadian Governments, the State of New York and the Province of Ontario, besides popular subscriptions.

The dedication of a monument on the battlefield of New Orleans has been proposed.

A NEW SOCIETY

A new patriotic order, of which John Lenord Merrill, of 66 Broadway, New York, is the founder, is named "The Order of the Continental Navy." Any member of the other patriotic Societies is eligible, if

lineally descended, in either the male or female line, from an ancestor who served as a naval or marine officer, or sailor, in the Continental Navy, or in the navy of one of the Thirteen Original States, or on an armed vessel which sailed under letters of marque; or who served as a member of any naval committee or board, or who aided in the development of the naval power of the Colonies in their battle for independence, prior to the 19th day of October, 1783.

The object of the order is to awaken in the Revolutionary societies a keener interest in the history of the small, yet indispensable, navy in the War of the Revolution and among the whole American people a greater appreciation of the incalculable service performed by that navy.

Mr. Merrill, in its original prospectus quoted from Maclay in his "History of the United States Navy," as follows:

"For a century and a quarter Americans have been under the impression that the land operations were ten times more important than those at sea, because ten times as much space has been given them in our histories. The bona fide battles (not mere skirmishes but actions in which men were killed or wounded) will show that 57 were fought on water as opposed to 48 on land; that in the 57 on water, the Americans won 41, lost 8, and had 8 indecisive; while in the 48 battles on land we had 19 victories, 26 defeats and 3 indecisive."

To the General Society of the Daughters of the Revolution the founder of the new order gives unstinted praise and credit for blazing the way to a more just recognition of the services performed by our Revolutionary sailors and states that the order is formed to continue the work of the Daughters of the Revolution and to keep alive the sentiment expressed on their Annapolis tablet.

In Memory of The American Seamen, who on Ship of War and Privateer fought valiantly for the Independence of the United States which they did so much to win.

As the members of the order will be scattered far and wide, there will be only a few meetings of the General Order and most of the active work will be done by its members through the societies and chapters to which they belong. The organization of the order will be unusual in that the titles of the officers will be patterned after the first navy. There will be a commander and each State president will be known as a "captain," the commander and the captains to be governors of the order. Discretion is given to each captain to formulate such detailed organization for the State as he, or she, may see fit.

An insignia of the order is designing and the colors of the ribbon will contain the gold and blue of the present navy, edged with stripes of white and green, the latter representing the colors of the official flag of the order, the famous "Pine Tree Flag," the first emblem used by the American privateers. That the order may in no way conflict with the existing societies and chapters, the annual dues will be only one dollar.

Mr. Merrill, the founder, who lives in East Orange, New Jersey, is greatly interested in American history. He has received enthusiastic responses from those whom he has invited to join with him in the organization of the new order and feels that, in time, it will do much toward accomplishing its object.

JOSEPH BONAPARTE IN THE ADIRONDACKS

Sir: Your surmise, as to the connection with the France of Napoleon of the names Wilna and Lake Bonaparte, in the Adirondack region of New York State, points so shrewdly towards their true origin that I take the liberty of completing the case.

This Bonapartist nomenclature is due to the fact that, in the last days of the falling empire, Napoleon's brother Joseph, who had occupied the thrones of Naples and Spain, began investments in forest lands in Lewis and Jefferson Counties, New York. He purchased, in all, some 150,000 acres at \$120,000. Joseph's attention was attracted to these lands by the son of Le Roy de Chaumont, a partisan of the American colonies in the war for independence, with whom, at Passy, Benjamin Franklin had made his home when he was representing the colonies in France. About the year 1785 the younger Chaumont came to the United States and, in partnership with Gouverneur Morris, bought large tracts in northern New York, parts of which he sold some years later to Caulaincourt, to Grouchy, and to Joseph Bonaparte.

As is well known Joseph, after the second abdication of his brother, took refuge in this country, making his home at Point Breeze, Bordentown, N. J., on the Delaware River. In the summer of 1818, under the title of the Comte de Survilliers, he visited his Adirondack lands, meeting at the then village of Watertown, M. de Chaumont and with him continuing his journey to Lake Ontario at Sackett's Harbor. The former king decided to develop his property, built a summer home on Lake Diana and through the encircling woods laid out a system of roads. The
ate Legislature, following the example of the New Jersey Legisla-

ture in the matter of the Bordentown property, passed a special act permitting Joseph, an alien, to perfect his title to his Adirondack estate. Napoleon's active imagination was powerfully stimulated by the tidings of his brother's activities in northern New York. One of his many dreams in his greatness, had been that French Canadians might be attracted to the Adirondacks and that thus an influence, hostile to England, might be created. At St. Helena he said: "I would have loved to realize this dream. It would have been a new glory." When, after the fall of the Bourbons, Joseph returned to Europe to live, he sold his New York lands at a considerable loss. The death of Stephen Girard, who had considered buying them, forced them upon the market and they were purchased by John Lafarge of New York for \$80,000.

This is, I think, the correct outline of a little-known episode in which a man, who not unworthily had worn two crowns, became a landed proprietor in northern New York.

FREDERICK A. CLEVELAND.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.
Boston Transcript.

A NEW ENGLAND ANCESTRY—WELLS-SUTLIFFE-NEAL

Thomas Wells, the oldest ancestor in my paternal line, was born in Northamptonshire, England, 1598, the descendant of an ancient French family dating from 794. He came to America as private secretary to Lord Say and Sele, in 1636 and became the common ancestor of most of the Wellses. He was prominent in the community, one of the first magistrates chosen in Connecticut, and was annually re-elected until his death, twenty years after (Jan. 14, 1660, at Wethersfield) and was also the first Treasurer of the Colony, then Secretary of State, Deputy Governor and finally—1656—Governor for several years. From 1707 to 1868, twenty-one of his descendants had been graduated from Harvard, and one from Yale. Most of the early laws and public papers of the Colony were drafted by him. All but his youngest child were born in England. Thomas, Jr., was Quartermaster under Major John Mason in 1658, deputy magistrate at Hartford 1662-63, and was said to be physically the largest man of the day in Hartford. Sarah, his daughter, married John Bidwell, and their daughter Hannah married Joseph Judd,

April 11, 1706. Joseph, Jr., married Mary Clark in 1752, and their daughter Phebe married John Neal; Elisha Neal (my grandfather) married Naomi Frost, Levi C. Neale (my father) married Amanda Sutliffe, Nov. 4, 1838.

I am eighth in descent from Governor Thomas.

In my maternal line my oldest ancestor is John Plympton, born in England, about 1620, baptized at Dedham, Nov. 20, 1642. Was a member of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, Boston, in 1643. Married —, 1644, moved to Pocumtuck—later Deerfield—where he was appointed Sergeant—apparently the chief military officer there. After the historic Deerfield massacre a few men, himself among them, returned to their old home—1677—but were made captive by the Indians, and taken to Canada, where, near Chamblée, then a frontier settlement of ten houses, he was burned at the stake.

His eldest child Hannah, married in 1664 Nathaniel Sutliffe, who was killed at the "Falls Fight" May 19, 1676. John Sutliffe, his son, born at Deerfield, 1674, died 1752. His son, John, born in Durham, Conn., March 8, 1713, died 1790. He was captain of a company in Colonel Elihu Chauncey's regiment, and at the Fort William Henry alarm in 1757. John, the third, born March 21, 1743, served during the Revolution in Captain Camp's Company, Colonel Harkin's regiment. John the fourth was baptized February 24, 1783, and married Chloe Hopson, November 15, 1804. Amanda, his daughter, married Levi C. Neale, November 4, 1838, and I am their son, the eighth from Sergeant Plympton, and fourth from John Sutliffe the first.

Bennett Sutliffe, another direct descendant of John who settled in Plymouth, 1730, has the ancestral deeds of land in England granted by William III, 1695, and still held by the family. His son John has Captain John Sutliffe's cane, inscribed "1765," and which has passed down from one John to another for seven generations.

ELISHA J. NEALE.

MAJOR HENRY REED RATHBONE

Major Henry Reed Rathbone, who died August 16, in the Asylum for the Criminal Insane at Hilesheim, Germany, was the last surviving member of the party that sat in President Lincoln's box on the night of his assassination. His wife, to whom, as Miss Harris, daughter of

Senator Ira Harris, he was then engaged; the only other member of the party beside the President and Mrs. Lincoln, met death at his hands some years ago in Hanover, where he represented this country as consul. It being shown that he committed the act in a fit of insanity, the major was confined in the asylum where he died.

Major Rathbone was the only one in the entire theater on the fatal night who had presence of mind enough to make an attempt to seize the assassin. Booth entered the box armed with pistol and knife. Hardly had the report of the shot died away when the major was upon him. Dropping the pistol and taking the knife in his right hand, Booth slashed the major across the arm, thus gaining time enough to leap to the stage below, whence he escaped in the ensuing tumult.

Disregarding his wound, Major Rathbone forced the door at the entrance to the box, which the assassin had barricaded beforehand so that no one might interfere with his theatrical exit, and let in the army surgeons to attend the President. He himself went without attention until he fainted from loss of blood.

Born in Albany on July 1, 1837, Henry Reed Rathbone entered the army at the beginning of the Civil War, and in November, 1862, was appointed a major of volunteers. He served in this capacity until his resignation, in 1867. He was a cousin of General John Finley Rathbone, the Albany manufacturer and philanthropist.

MONUMENT TO SETH WARNER

Bennington, Vt.,—On the state reservation surrounding the Bennington battle monument there was dedicated last August a monument to Colonel Seth Warner, of the Green Mountain Boys in the Revolution. The monument, which was presented to the Bennington Battle Monument and Historic Association by its president, Colonel Q. Scott, of Bennington, is twenty-six feet high and of Vermont granite. Surmounting the polished die is an heroic size statue of Warner in Continental uniform.

ANOTHER GOVERNOR'S PICTURE FOUND

Hartford, Conn.—After a long search for portraits of the fourteen colonial Governors, who have no representation in painting in the

Connecticut Memorial Hall, authorities have reduced the number of vacant spaces to thirteen through the receipt from Kentucky of a miniature on ivory of Gov. Thomas Fitch, who held office from 1764 to 1766. The portrait was obtained from one of his descendants, Mrs. Thurston Ballard, of Glenview, Ky.

MAY HAVE SHOT STONEWALL JACKSON

John Starnes, who has died, after living the life of a hermit in the forests near Gaffney, S. C., for about forty years, was known as "Wild John" Starnes. He had been a well-known character throughout that section for many years, and it was said that he was the Confederate soldier who accidentally shot General Stonewall Jackson.

LOCAL HISTORICAL FINDS

A noticeable thing this past year has been the prominence of local historical societies, which are increasing and collecting material for history very notably. The Littleton society, which has existed several years, this year brought forward, in its meeting on the 17th, an important find of old papers of the Bukleley family of Concord, Littleton and Fairfield, Conn., which came originally from Bedford and Cheshire in England, through Rev. Peter Bulkeley, the founder of Concord. In the old house occupied one hundred and fifty years since by Joseph Bulkeley, in Littleton near Boxboro, was found a tea chest containing the papers of Captain Charles Bulkeley of the famous Rogers Rangers under Lord Loudon, in the French and Indian wars; and among them what seems to be a muster roll of the Rangers, hitherto unknown. Other family papers were found, going back to Dr. Edward Bulkeley, the father of Peter, a fellow of Cambridge University in England, before Milton entered it, rector of Odell in Bedfordshire, and allied both with the St. John and the Cholmondeley families. Some notice of these papers was read at the meeting, and arrangements have been made for printing them.

At a meeting of the Mendon Historical Society at Bellingham, Mr. Whitney read a paper on the Bates family of Bellingham. Mr. Mowry of Hyde Park spoke on "The Slave Power and the Free States," and

reminiscences of John Brown and Edward Morton, William Graham, and others of his friends were read. John Albee, the literary son of Bellingham, was present and spoke. The Dedham Historical Society has increased its usefulness by a recent bequest, and has taken charge of the old Fairbanks house there.

F. B. SANBORN.

Republican, SPRINGFIELD.

THE NEGLECTED GRAVE OF GENERAL ST. CLAIR

Congressman Curtis H. Gregg is trying to induce Congress to erect a suitable monument over the grave of Major-General Arthur St. Clair of Revolutionary fame, who lies in a neglected tomb in Greensburg. In 1832 a plain monument of brown sandstone was erected over him by the Masonic fraternity of Greensburg and vicinity. The monument is fast disintegrating, and it will be but a matter of a very short time until the inscriptions will be illegible, as they are now almost obliterated. Grass and weeds are suffered to grow on his burial lot, and only occasionally is it cleared; and many have passed it by knowing not that the ashes of one of America's noblest men lay near.

Record, PHILADELPHIA



INTERNATIONAL NOTES AND QUERIES

INTERNACIONA NOTARO E QUESTIONARO

New York City, U. S. A.

Vol. I.

February, 1913.

No. 2.

Subscription:

Postpaid, in U. S. and Canada,
\$2.25 per year.
Postpaid, in other countries,
\$2.50 per year

Publisher: WILLIAM ABBATT
410 East 32d Street
New York, U. S. A.

Editor: EUGENE F. McPIKE
135 Park Row
Chicago, Ill., U. S. A.

Abono:

Afrankite, en Usono e Kanado,
Fr. 11.50 yare.
Afrankite, en altra landi,
Fr. 12.50 yare.

Editisto: WILLIAM ABBATT
410 East 32d Street
New York, U. S. A.

Redaktero: EUGENE F. McPIKE
135 Park Row,
Chicago, Ill., U. S. A.

ORDER OF CONTENTS

NOTICE

TO OUR READERS

AGRICULTURAL NOTES

PROPOSED RESEARCH INSTITUTE

- 310. Statistics.
- 352. Municipal Government.
- 408.9 International Language.
- 608. Inventions.
- 614.3 Pure Food Laws.
- 630. Agriculture.
- 654. Telegraphs and Telephones.
- 929. Genealogy.

ORDINO DI KONTENAJO

AVIZO

A NIA LEKTANTI

AGROKULTURALA NOTETI

PROPOZITA INSTITUTO DI SERCHADO

- 310. Statistiko.
- 352. Urbala Guverno.
- 408.9 Internaciona Linguo.
- 608. Invento.
- 614.3 Legi pri pura nutraji.
- 630. Agrokulturo.
- 654. Telegrafo e Telefono.
- 929. Genealogio.

NOTICE

Correspondents will please write on only one side of paper and use a separate sheet for each subject. All communications must be signed, with address, not necessarily for publication, but as evidence of good faith. Each separate query should be accompanied by an addressed and stamped envelope. The editor does not assume any responsibility for the correctness of replies sent by contributors. Send all communications to the editor.

EUGENE F. McPIKE
135 Park Row, Chicago, Ill., U. S. A.

AVIZO

Korespondanti voluntas skribar sur nur un latero de la papero, ed uzas aparta folio por omnia singla temo. Omnia komunikaji mustas esar subskribata, kun adreso, ne necesas por imprimado, ma nur kom garantio de bona fido. Omnia singla questiono devos esar akompanata da adresita karto, e respondokuponu. La Redaktero ne asumus irga respondiveso por la respondi sendita de korespondanti. Tamen sempre a la Redaktero.

EUGENE F. McPIKE
135 Park Row, Chicago, Ill., U. S. A.

(34)

TO OUR READERS

All our readers are requested to write to the editor to register their own interests concerning:

(a) Subjects about which they seek special information;

(b) Subjects on which they would be willing to impart information, within reasonable limits.

Our circle of subscribers and readers is growing, both in the United States and in Europe. We have direct access to excellent library and other facilities for special research in Chicago. Furthermore, we are establishing interrelations with competent investigators in various parts of America, Europe, etc. All these facilities ought to prove of practical value to librarians, journalists and others interested in the interchange of useful information.

While this number is devoted chiefly to subjects of agriculture, we are also presenting several notes and queries on quite different topics. All material published will, so far as possible, be restricted to the declared interests of our readers.

(35)

STANDARDIZATION OF AGRICULTURAL STUDY

An inquiry on this subject was received, not long ago, from a correspondent in England representing South African interests. Our subsequent investigation developed considerable information but we wish to call special attention to the two works briefly described below:

DAVIS, BENJAMIN MARSHALL

Agricultural education in the public schools: a study of its development with particular reference to the agencies concerned. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press (1912). 163 pages. Price \$1.12 postpaid. Contains bibliography, pp. 132-159, citing 202 titles.

ROBISON, CLARENCE HALL, PH.D.

Agricultural instruction in the public high schools of the United States. (Teachers College, Columbia University. Contributions to Education, No. 3A.) New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1911. 205 pages. Price, \$1.35 net. Contains a "List of References," citing more than 117 titles.

Prof. B. M. Davis, of the Ohio State Normal College, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, the author of the first above mentioned book, is "making a study of elementary instruction in agriculture with a view of finding out the various phases of the subject that are usually successfully taught. He has sent out a Questionnaire and has received more than three hundred replies representing all parts of the United States. He hopes on basis of this data to offer something toward the standardization of agricultural teaching in the elementary school."

The U. S. Bureau of Education has published some interesting bulletins relating to agriculture and rural schools, viz:

Bulletin, 1912, No. 1 (whole number 469): "A Course of study for the preparation of rural school teachers," by Fred Mutchler and W. J. Craig, of the Department of Science, Western Kentucky, State Normal School.

Bulletin, 1912, No. 10 (whole number 481): "Bibliography of Education in Agriculture and Home Economics."

Bulletin, 1912, No. 18 (whole number 490): "Teaching language through agriculture and domestic science," by N. A. Leiper, of Western Kentucky State Normal School.

Bulletin, 1912, No. 20 (whole number 492): "The Re-adjustment of a rural school to the needs of the community," by H. A. Brown, District Superintendent of Schools, Colebrook, N. H.

The Agricultural Experiment station of the University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign) has issued numerous bulletins pertaining to soil fertility, etc., among which may be cited:

Circular No. 105 (November, 1906): The Duty of Chemistry to Agriculture," by Cyril G. Hopkins.

Circular No. 110 (April, 1907): "Ground Limestone for Acid Soils," by Cyril G. Hopkins, Chief in Agronomy and Chemistry. (Third edition, revised, September, 1912.)

Circular No. 123 (November, 1908): "The Status of Soil Fertility Investigations."

Circular No. 127 (January, 1909): "Shall we use natural rock phosphate or manufactured acid phosphate for the permanent improvement of Illinois Soils?" By Cyril G. Hopkins (Second edition, January, 1910).

Circular No. 165 (October, 1912): "Shall we use 'complete' commercial fertilizers in the corn belt?" By Cyril G. Hopkins.

(36) FARM MANAGEMENT AND EFFICIENCY

From the voluminous publications of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, we select the following short list:

"What is farm management?" By W. J. Spillman (Bureau of Plant Industry, Bulletin No. 259, issued October 2, 1912.)

"Farm Bookkeeping," by Edward H. Thomson. (Farmers' Bulletin No. 511, issued October 12, 1912.)

"Seasonal distribution of labor on the farm," by W. J. Spillman. ("Year-book Separate 567, for 1911.")

"Replanning a farm for profit," by C. Beaman Smith, and J. W. Frole. (Farmers' Bulletin No. 370, issued September 29, 1909.)

"Rotations in the Corn Belt," By C. B. Smith. ("Year-book Separate 572, for 1911.")

"Progress in Legume Inoculation," by Karl F. Kellerman, and T. R. Robinson. (Farmers' Bulletin 315, issued January 11, 1908.)

"Methods of Legume Inoculation," by Karl F. Kellerman. (Bureau of Plant Industry. Circular No. 63, issued May 28, 1910.)

"Conditions Affecting Legume Inoculation," by Karl F. Kellerman, and T. R. Robinson. (Bureau of Plant Industry; Bulletin No. 100, part VIII, issued November 30, 1906.)

"Promising Root-crops for the South," by O. W. Barrett, and O. F. Cook. (Bureau of Plant Industry, Bulletin No. 164, issued February 5, 1910.)

Dr. W. J. Spillman is "now engaged in the preparation of a textbook on farm-management," which will be issued about July 1, 1913.

Two articles "Making the Farm Pay," and "Keeping Books on the Farm," by Colonel Chas. H. Carlisle, of South Bend, Indiana, appeared in *Leslie's Weekly*, for Oct. 17, 1912, and Nov. 21, 1912, respectively.

A series of articles on farm efficiency, by Mr. B. F. Yoakum, has been published in *World's Work*.

But it remained for an American commercial institution to prepare and publish a booklet on "Making the Farm Pay," by Dr. Horace E. Horton, which is said to be the first thing in the English language treating this vital subject from the standpoint of practical results in dollars and cents. A very widespread distribution of that pamphlet is being made now.

The International Institute of Agriculture will hold a meeting this year in Rome, which will be attended by delegates from all parts of the world. Among the Americans who are expected to go are Mr. Vincent Astor and Mr. B. F. Yoakum.

(37) PROPOSED RESEARCH INSTITUTE

Consideration is being given now to the question of establishing a Research Institute, with headquarters in Chicago, under the direction of Mr. A. G. S. Josephson, Cataloguer, at the John Crerar Library, Chicago. The scope, according to plans so far developed, will be the promotion of agriculture, commerce and industry. There is, indeed, great need of such an institution, and there is much practical work requiring its attention. The project is in the hands of an organizing committee which has already aroused a lively interest in the plan, among those qualified to appreciate its merits. Further particulars are given in an article in *The Dial*, Chicago, for Nov. —, 1912.

310. STATISTICS

(38; 16) The query on scrap-wrought-iron from Pacific Coast to points east of Rocky Mountains, was quite satisfactorily answered by

one of our Californian correspondents, which shows that such special or technical questions are not beyond our scope, although the answers may be too comprehensive for insertion in our columns.

352. MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

(39) The University of Washington, at Seattle, has established a Bureau of Municipal and Legislative Research, under the direction of Mr. Herman Brauer.

(40) A Bureau of Municipal and Social Service, is located at 171 Westminster street, Providence, Rhode Island;—Mr. Carol Aronovici, Director.

408.9. INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE

(41) The followers of "Ido," in Great Britain, have commenced the publication of a monthly propaganda journal: "Ido, or the Auxiliary Language," edited by Mr. R. Strathdee, 15 Camden Street, Glasgow, Scotland (two shillings per year, post free).

(42) A bulletin in and about "Ido" is also issued by Mr. Tamura Hilworth, 1212 Twelfth Street, Washington, D. C., U. S. A.

(43) "La Belga Sonorilo," edited in Ido by Kom. Ch. Lemaire, 65 Rue du President, Bruxelles, Belgium (price ninety cents per year) is interesting and instructive. There are several other European journals printed in Ido.

(44) A strictly neutral project for the creation of an international office for an auxiliary language, is the chief object of a society existing in Berne, Switzerland. The honorary president is Colonel Emil Frey, ex-Federal councillor of Berne. The president is Dr. A. Gobat, of Berne.

608. INVENTIONS

(45) *Who invented the sewing machine ("machine à coudre")?*
L. C.

One of our correspondents in France presents this question for discussion.—*La Redaktero*.

(46) *Who invented the propeller wheel ("helice")?* L. C.

The title to this honor belongs to Dallery (1803), according to an article in Ido in *Progreso* (Paris) for Decembro, 1912, pp. 617-620, al-

though references are made to experiments so early as 1731, and 1768.—
La Redaktero.

(47.) *What actual progress is being made is the invention of a voice-operated typewriter?*

A preliminary account appeared in the *Scientific American*, Feb. 8, 1913 (p. 136). The inventor, Mr. John B. Flowers, expresses the hope that a public demonstration will be possible within a few months.

614.3. PURE FOOD LAWS

(48) *Can you tell me where to obtain full information about pure food legislation in Germany, France, Switzerland, Italy, and England?* H. B.

(49) Amerikana korespondan to demandas plena informi pri la diversa legi en Germanio, Francio, Suiso, Italio ed Anglio, relate puran nutraĵi. Ka multa lektanti ne interesas su pri ta importanta problemoj?
La Redaktero.

(50) We have to thank Mr. W. D. Bigelow, Assistant Chief of the U. S. Bureau of Chemistry, Washington, D. C., for some useful references to the literature of pure food laws, in various parts of the world.

630. AGRICULTURE

(See also notes under Items Nos. 35 and 36.)

(51) An account of the English Royal Agricultural Show, to be held in Bristol July 1 to 6, 1913, is given in the *Daily Consular and Trade Reports* (Washington, February 19, 1913, No. 42, pp. 898-899), where it is said that further particulars may be obtained from Mr. Thomas McRow, Secretary, 16 Bedford Square, London, W. C., England.

(52) Mr. Aaron Aaronson, director of the Jewish Agricultural Experiment station, at Haifa, Palestine, and collaborator with the U. S. Department of Agriculture, recently delivered before the City Club of Chicago, an address on the "Discovery of Wild Wheat and its Possibilities for the United States."

654. TELEGRAPHS AND TELEPHONES

(53; 21) As to the report that a general information bureau is operated in connection with the telephone system of the city of Budapest; a reply (French text) from the Telephone Company of Budapest (a governmental institution) says that "Consideration is being given

to a project to utilize the telephone for news-service", but this has not yet materialized. Other information about telephonic affairs in Budapest is given.

929. GENEALOGY

(54) Several of our correspondents both in America and in Europe are interested in genealogy, and appear willing to open communication with others on such subjects.

POSTSCRIPT (*too late to classify*)

55. *Which is the best journal of child psychology published in the English language?* B. M.

(55) Dumont family notes are being collected by Mrs. T. S. Varnum, 512 South Walnut Street, Lansing, Michigan.

(56) Mr. J. F. C. MacDonnell, 545 East 167th St., New York City, is interested in the history of the families of MacDonnell or MacDonald and McPeake, in Ireland, etc.

(57) Many items on the Pyke or Pike families in England before 1800 have appeared in *Notes and Queries*, London, 1902-1913, and in *The Magazine of History*, New York, 1906-1912.

(58) The Rev. A. R. Welldon Peek, M. A., rector of Drewsteynton, Devon, England (son of the Rev. Richard Peek, M. A., of London) is, like his father, interested in the genealogy of the Peeks (a surname considered by some to be a variant of Pyke or Pike).

(59) Mr. P. D. Staats, 156 North Seventh St., Newark, New Jersey, is interested in local history of the Jerseys, particularly of Somerset and Middlesex Counties. (He states, in reply to an inquiry from the editor, that his middle initial represents "Davis", not "Dumont.")

(60) Readers would oblige the editor by informing him of the addresses of any persons surnamed *McPike*, particularly in Missouri, Arkansas, and Texas, or anywhere in the Southwestern states.

ADDENDUM (*too late to classify*)

(61) *What is the best journal of child-psychology in the English language?* B. M.

VOL. XVI

No. 3

THE
MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

WITH
NOTES AND QUERIES

Americanus sum: Americani nihil a me alienum puto

MARCH, 1913

WILLIAM ABBATT
10 LIBERTY ST., POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y.

AND
410 EAST 32D STREET, NEW YORK CITY

Published Monthly

\$5.00 a Year

50 Cents a Number

THE MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

WITH NOTES AND QUERIES

VOL. XVI.

MARCH, 1913

No. 3

CONTENTS

THE APOSTASY OF SILAS DEANE . . .	RALSTON HAYDEN	95
PRINCESS SALM-SALM, CIRCUS RIDER	ANON	104
SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS' RECOLLECTIONS	WILLIAM ENDICOTT	110
BARBARA FRIETCHIE	BOSTON <i>Transcript</i>	120
	(With letter of Whittier)	
ERICSSON AND TIMBY	{ 1—N. Y. <i>Times</i> 2—W. E. B. }	122
ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS:		
Letter of J. Fenimore Cooper to Samuel Harris		125
Letter of James R. Mallory, 1861		125
Letter of O. W. Holmes, 1846		126
MINOR TOPICS:		
Voyages of Astor the First		128
John Adams on Thomas Paine		130
BOOK REVIEWS		132
INTERNATIONAL NOTES AND QUERIES		135

Entered as Second-class matter at the Post Office at Poughkeepsie, New York, Act of Congress, March 3d, 1879.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC.,

of *The Magazine of History, with Notes and Queries*
(Insert title of publication.)

published *Monthly*
(State frequency of issue.)

at *New York, N. Y.*, required by the Act of August 24, 1912.
(Name of post office.)

NAME OF—
Editor, *William Abbatt*,
Managing Editor, *William Abbatt*
Business Manager, *William Abbatt*
Publisher, *William Abbatt*

POST-OFFICE ADDRESS.
410 E. 32d Street, New York
410 E. 32d Street, New York
410 E. 32d Street, New York
410 E. 32d Street, New York

OWNERS:

..... *William Abbatt* *410 E. 32d Street, New York*

Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders, holding 1 per cent or more
of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities:

..... *None*

William Abbatt

(Signature of editor, publisher, business manager, and owner.)

Sworn to and subscribed before me this *19th* day of *March*, 1913.

[Seal.]

Geo. DeWitt Weeks,
Notary Public, Kings County, No. 62,
With official file in New York County, No. 43
New York Register No. 4139

(My commission expires *March 30*, 1914.)

THE MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

WITH NOTES AND QUERIES

VOL. XVI

MARCH, 1913

No. 3

THE APOSTASY OF SILAS DEANE

“THE Case of Silas Deane” is one of the cases before the bar of American history upon which final judgment never has been rendered. The bitterness with which the character and conduct of the first diplomatic agent of the United States was attacked, and the warmth with which it was defended by his contemporaries rent the Congress of 1778-1779 in twain, forced Thomas Paine from the position of Secretary to the Committee of Foreign Affairs (1), and reacted upon the careers of Revolutionary statesmen long after Silas Deane had been driven from the service of his country (2). The first count in the indictment against him, the allegation that he embezzled public money while Continental agent in France, was officially quashed when, in 1842, Congress paid his heirs the \$37,000 which, even after the lapse of sixty years, was proven to have been due him (3). The second and more serious charge lodged against him was that in 1781, after his return to France a discredited and disappointed man, he became the paid agent of the British government (4). It is the evidence upon which this charge is founded and the conclusions which may be justly deducted from it, that we wish to consider here. In doing so we will touch upon the other events of Deane’s life only as necessary to convey an understanding of his apostasy (5).

1. *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Ford ed.), XIII, 76.

2. In 1783, in a letter to Washington regarding the resignation of Robert Morris and the attacks then made upon his character, Hamilton says, “The truth is, the old leaven of Deane and Lee is at this day working against Mr. Morris. He happened, in that dispute, to have been on the side of Deane; and certain men can never forgive him.” *Hamilton’s Works* (J. C. Hamilton ed.), I, 358.

3. Wharton’s *Diplomatic Correspondence*, I, 573; Senate Documents (88), I, 2d session, 27th Congress, Feb. 3, 1842; U. S. Statutes at Large, VI, 857, Private Laws.

4. Wharton, in his *Dip. Corres.*, I, 568; C. J. Stille, *Silas Deane, Diplomatist of the Revolution*, in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XVIII, 274.

5. There is no biography of Silas Deane. The *Deane Papers*, Collections of the New York Historical Society, 1886, Publication Fund Series, 5v., Charles Isham, ed., is an admirable collection of his correspondence, papers and accounts. Secondary estimates of his services are Charles Isham, *A Short Account of the Life and Times of Silas Deane, Papers*, Am. Hist. Socy, III, 40-47; C. J. Stille, *Silas Deane, Diplomatist of the Revolution*, *Pennsylvania Magazine*, XVIII, 274; Doniol, *Historie de la Participation de la France a L’Etablissement des Etats-Unis D’Amerique*, I, 491, 643-644; Edward J. Lowell in Winsor’s *Narrative and Critical History*, VII, 33; Charlemagne Tower, *The Marquis de La Fayette in the American Revolution*; Wharton, *Dip. Corres.*, I,

From 1773, when he became a member of the committee of correspondence for Connecticut (6), until his return in 1778 from his commercial and diplomatic mission in France, Silas Deane had been one of the most active of patriots. During this time he had gone on record again and again as unalterably opposed to any reconciliation with England (7). Recalled from France early in March, 1778 (8), he was in America from July of that year (9) until June, 1780 (10). During these months his enemies in Congress were able to have the value of his services minimized, the unfortunate consequences of his mistakes magnified, and the honesty of his financial transactions so impugned that it took more than sixty years to secure the settlement of his accounts. When he returned to France it was as a discouraged man, deeply embittered against the government that had so shamefully misused him.

In October, November and December, 1781, there appeared in Rivington's *Royal Gazette*, a series of eleven letters written by Deane to prominent patriots, and declared by Rivington to have been intercepted in Europe, "on their way to certain demagogues in America" (11). In these letters Deane sought to move his correspondents to bring the United States to a renunciation of the French alliance and a reconciliation with England (12). The effect of their publication upon Deane's fortunes was well expressed by Franklin, who when the news reached Paris, wrote to Jay that, "It must ruin him forever in America and here"

6. *Colonial Records of Connecticut*, XIV, 156.

7. Deane to Secret Committee of Congress, *Deane Papers*, I, 444; Deane to Dumas, Wharton, *Dip. Corres.*, II, 331; Vergennes to Compté de Montmorin, Stevens' *Facsimiles*, No. 1780, are examples.

8. Early in March, 1778, Deane received orders from the Committee of Foreign Correspondence to return home immediately for the purpose of reporting to Congress the state of their affairs in Europe. Deane to Congress, *Deane Papers*, III, 183; Lovell to Deane, Wharton, *Dip. Corres.*, II, 444.

9. Deane to Pres. of Congress Wharton, *Dip. Corres.*, II, 643.

10. Robert Morris to Deane, *Deane Papers*, IV, 170; Deane to Morris, *Deane Papers*, IV, 175.

11. The first of these letters was published October 24, and the last December 12, 1781. They were dated from May 10 to June 15, and were addressed to William Duer, Robert Morris, Jeremiah Wadsworth, Samuel H. Parsons, Charles Thomson, Simeon Deane, Thomas Mumford, James Wilson, Benjamin Harrison, Jesse Root and Benjamin Tallmadge. It is evident from the remarks with which the editor prefaced their publication that all of them were received at one time. *The Royal Gazette*, No. 528, in *Deane Papers*, IV, 500-501.

12. Deane's line of argument was: (1) that Great Britain was more powerful than America and France combined, (2) that France was giving the colonies just enough help to keep them from "sinking or conciliating" and in the end would either desert or absorb them, (3) that an independent and democratic form of government was not to be desired, and (4) that at this time America might obtain by conciliation more than she had at first sought and more than she might ever expect in the future. "Intercepted Letters", in *Deane Papers*, IV.

(13); and by Jefferson, who eight years later, just before Deane's death wrote from London to Madison "Silas Deane is coming over to finish his days in America, not having one *sou* to subsist on elsewhere. He is a wretched monument to the consequences of a departure from right." (14). But although Deane's generation branded him as a traitor, posterity is not so sure that he wrote the famous "intercepted letters" for British gold, and serious students of his life and times never have agreed upon his guilt or innocence (15). It is hoped that this examination of the evidence, particularly that offered by the correspondence of George III on the subject, may indicate a solution of the problem.

In order to understand Deane's course of action after his return to Paris in 1780, it is necessary to appreciate the change which occurred in his attitude towards the Revolution as the result of his resentment of the treatment he had received at the hands of Congress, of his disgust at the inefficiency of that body, and of his discouragement at the gloomy prospects in America (16). Beginning before his departure from Philadelphia in 1778, his letters show the successive steps in the evolution from an optimistic believer in the desirability and attainability of independence to a gloomy pessimist who felt that only by immediate reconciliation could America escape subjugation by England or dependence upon France; and that independence could be nothing but a curse if, by ac-

13. Franklin to Jay, Wharton, *Dip. Corres.*, V, 121.

14. Jefferson to Madison, Definitive Edition of *Jefferson's Works*, VII, 542.

15. The position of those who would give an affirmative answer to the question is expressed by Wharton when he says, "Whatever we may think of Deane's early services in the Revolutionary cause, there is no doubt that he left Philadelphia thoroughly embittered by the unjust and insulting course of Congress towards him, and that, on his return to Europe, he soon fell under British control and accepted British pay."—Wharton, in his *Dip. Corres.*, I, 568. C. J. Stille, in the monograph referred to above, simply classes Deane with Arnold. On the other hand, Mr. Charles Isham, editor of the *Deane Papers*, declares, "There is no convincing evidence that Deane was in the pay of the English government, or that he had been promised pay when he wrote the intercepted letters published by Rivington." Charles Isham, in *Deane Papers*, IV, 504.

16. It should be remembered that during the year which preceded Yorktown the ultimate overthrow of the patriot cause seemed inevitable to many Americans. It was then that the desperate situation wrung from Washington letters such as that addressed to the New England states upon the mutiny of the Pennsylvania troops, in which he says, "Once for all I give it decidedly as my opinion, that it is vain to think an army can be kept together much longer under such a variety of sufferings as ours has experienced"; and that unless conditions speedily change, "the worst that can befall us may be expected." Washington to New England States, *Writings* (Ford ed.), IX, 92.

cident, it should be attained (17). The evolution is gradual and continuous, and each step is clearly discernible. In this correspondence is expressed every important proposition, save one, advanced in the letters which caused his ruin. The evidence practically is conclusive that Deane was expressing his honest judgment when he wrote, during May and June, 1781, that America could be saved from ruin only by immediate reconciliation with England.

In brief then, the situation in 1781 when Deane wrote the "intercepted letters" was as follows:

(a) Deane was in Paris, convinced that independence was undesirable and unattainable, and that in immediate reconciliation upon the favorable terms then offered lay America's only escape from subjugation by England or dependence upon France. (b) He was without funds and living upon money borrowed from day to day, although convinced that Congress owed him more than three hundred thousand livres (18). He was bitter against the government in America (19). (c) Both the French and the British governments believed that he had influence at home (which he did not have), and were willing to purchase this influence directly or indirectly (19).

With this situation in mind we will examine the letters of George III to Lord North regarding Deane in order to determine the relations of Deane with the British government at the time he wrote the "intercepted letters".

The first note from the King to Lord North is dated March 3, 1781, (20),—a little more than two months before Deane wrote the first of the

17. The essential steps in this evolution may be traced in the following letters in the *Deane Papers*: Deane to Barnabas Deane, III, 421; to President of Congress, III, 461, 462; to Barnabas Deane, IV, 123; to Samuel Chase, IV, 134, 144; to Philip Schuyler, IV, 161; to John Jay, IV, 230; to Simeon Deane, IV, 177, 178; to Samuel Chase, IV, 179; to James Wilson, IV, 181, 182; to Isaac Moses, IV, 189; to Thomas Mumford, IV, 203, 204; to William Duer, IV, 192; to Titus Hosmer, IV, 210-213; to John Jay, IV, 241, 242, 229, 245, 258, 259; to Simeon Deane, IV, 283; to John Jay, IV, 299; and Francis Dana to John Adams, Wharton, *Dip. Corres.*, IV, 223.

18. Deane to Robert Morris, *Deane Papers*, IV, 288.

19. December 2, 1780, Beaumarchais wrote to Vergennes picturing Deane's pecuniary straits and mental condition, and recommending a substantial loan or gift to prevent his going over to the English. (Beaumarchais to Vergennes, *Deane Papers*, IV, 267.) A few days later we have a note from Deane to Reyneval acknowledging a loan from Vergennes. Deane to Reyneval, *Deane Papers*, IV, 268. The letters of George III, given below, indicate the English position in regard to the purchase of Deane's influence.

20. The letters of George III to Lord North on this subject are given in the *Deane Papers*, IV, 502-504, as edited by W. B. Donne, London, 1867.

"intercepted letters". In it the King says: "On returning last night from the oratorio I received your box. I think it perfectly right that Mr. Deane should be so far trusted as to have three thousand pounds in goods for America; the giving him particular instructions would be liable to much hazard, but his bringing any of the provinces to offer to return to their allegiance on the former foot would be much better than by joint application through Congress; for if, by the breaking off of some the rest are obliged to yield, no farther concert or, perhaps, amity can subsist between them which would not be the case in the other mode and the fire might be smothered only to break out on the first occasion."

This *indicates* that already there had been discussion between Deane and British agents as to the possibility of the former's bringing some of the colonies to consider reconciliation; if this were not the case, how could the King believe that "without particular instructions" Deane would undertake to do this? It *proves* that England was ready to buy Deane's influence by assisting him in his business schemes. On the other hand, it *indicates* that England thought that the American was not susceptible to open bribery; otherwise it is not easy to understand why "the giving him particular instructions would be liable to much hazard." The subsequent correspondence proves that he never did receive such instructions.

The second letter from the King (20), dated July 19, 1781, acknowledges the receipt of the "intercepted letters", and comments on their contents as follows:

"I have received Lord North's boxes containing the intercepted letters from Mr. Deane to America, I have only been able to read two of them, from which I form the same opinion of too much appearance of being concerted with this country, and therefore not likely to have the same effect as if they bore another aspect."

Authorities differ as to whether or not this indicated that the letters actually were written in concert with England. But however we may view that question, the letter certainly is not evidence that they were intended by Deane for publication in the *Royal Gazette* rather than for the private perusal of his friends. The former conclusion not only is not necessary from the King's language, but is unreasonable. For if the letters simply were handed over to the English, or if Deane connived at their interception, why should George, in a confidential note to

Lord North, refer to them unqualifiedly as Deane's intercepted letters? The same reference in the next letters shows that the expression was not an accidental one.

Almost three weeks later, August 7, 1781, the King again wrote Lord North (20), this time approving the use about to be made of the "intercepted letters". He says:

"The letter Lord North has wrote Sir Henry Clinton on the subject of the intercepted letters of Mr. Deane he is transmitting to him is very proper, and is the most likely means of rendering them of some utility. I own I think them too strong in our favour to bear the appearance of his spontaneous opinions, but that, if supposed to be authentick, they will see they have by concert fallen into our hands. The means Mr. Deane should have taken as most conducive of the object he now seems to favour would have been first to have shown that the hands of France are too full to be able to give any solid assistance to America, and to have pointed out the ruin that must have attended a further continuance of the war; and after having given time for these opinions to be digested, then to have proposed the giving up all ideas of independence, and have shown that the country is not in a state to subsist without the assistance of some foreign power, and that consequently so mild a government as the British one is the most favorable that America can depend upon."

It appears to me that this is further evidence that Deane was free as to what went into the "intercepted letters", and that he did not connive at their interception. As suggested above, if Deane actually had been bought by the British, why was he not given "particular instructions"? Further, if the interception was pre-arranged between Deane and the English, it is obvious that the use to which the letters subsequently were to be put must also to have been understood. But the language of the King when he declares, almost three weeks after their receipt, that publication in New York "is the most likely means of rendering them of some utility" proves pretty conclusively that the manner in which they were to be used was determined after, and not before their interception. In short, it seems to me that all the evidence leads to the conclusion that Deane was free as to the means he was using to effect reconciliation; and that intercepted letters did not enter into this

plan of action (21). The question of the nature of the relations which did exist at this time between Deane and England we will consider in the light of the last letter of the King.

This letter (20) was written October 23, 1781, more than two months after the decision to send Deane's letters to America, and just one day before the first of these missives was to appear in *The Royal Gazette* (11). He had recently moved from Paris to Ghent, having been in the latter city about ten days (22). The King's comment on this move is brief but significant. George writes:

"I quite agree with Lord North that the retreat of Mr. Deane to Ghent shows his conduct is sincere."

It seems to me that this remark, viewed in the light of George's former letters, offers almost conclusive evidence that Deane at some previous time had professed to British agents his change of attitude towards England, and that he had agreed to do what he could to effect reconciliation. When King George writes that Deane's retreat to Ghent "shows his conduct is sincere", what conduct does he mean? There are just two general lines of conduct that he *can* mean:

(a) Does he mean Deane's conduct in changing his opinion on the situation and, without any relations with or professions to British agents regarding the matter, expressing this change of opinion to personal friends in an attempt to bring them to his viewpoint? It seems to me that he can not mean this conduct. It is not reasonable to suppose that the King and Lord North *could* have entertained suspicions as to the sincerity of such conduct; especially when we remember that at this time Deane's forebodings as to the hopelessness of the American cause and his bitterness against Congress were very generally known, and that the British government undoubtedly was familiar with his attitude on the subject (23). But if the King did not refer to such independent action, what did he have in mind?

21. Negative evidence that Deane was not directly bought is found in his subsequent life, and in his correspondence with his family, with friends in America and with Englishmen. Certainly if George III did buy Deane's influence he purchased something that did not exist, and for which he never paid; for from the time he left Paris in 1781 the discredited diplomat's descent to the bitterest depths of poverty was broken only by the occasional charity of friends. Again and again in his darkest moments we find him declaring that nothing but a knowledge of his integrity, and a determination to clear his name could keep him alive; while never do we find a line or an action that would incriminate him as a conscious bribe-taker.

22. Deane to Gerard, *Deane Papers*, IV, 480; Deane to Trowbridge, *ibid*, IV, 491.

23. Jay to Deane, *Deane Papers*, IV, 294.

(b) On the other hand, if Deane had professed his change of opinion to British agents, if he had volunteered or consented to assist in reconciliation, the sincerity of his conduct inevitably was open to suspicion,—whether or not any reward had been offered him by the British government. He was sure that the game was up in America, and whether the end was to come in reconciliation or in subjugation his only safety lay in making his peace with England previous to the final outcome; for his enemies had practically driven him from America, while on account of his past conduct he had become one of the choicest objects of British vengeance (24). The sincerity of the conduct of a man offering or agreeing to change sides under these circumstances certainly is open to suspicion. Further, if, as was intimated in the first letter of the King, English agents had suggested to Deane that his return to loyalty and his services in leading his rebel friends back into the fold might be rewarded either immediately, by a grant of goods to further his commercial schemes, or ultimately when England again ruled the colonies, suspicion as to the sincerity of his conduct was inevitable. All of George's letters show that he and Lord North entertained doubts as to the American's sincerity. There is only one thing that could have caused such suspicion to exist,—and that is some line of conduct on Deane's part as has just been indicated.

In view of these circumstances, then, we draw the following conclusions as to the relations between Deane and the British government with regard to the "intercepted letters":

(a) That Deane wrote the letters as an American rebel who sincerely desired to return to his allegiance to George III, and at the same time be instrumental in forwarding a reconciliation between the Thirteen Colonies and the British government.

(b) That both before and after writing of these letters Deane professed to England his change of position and his intention of doing what he could to bring the colonies to his,—and England's,—viewpoint.

(c) That the letters probably were *bonafide* personal letters to his friends in America, and that they were intercepted by agents of the British government without the connivance of their author.

24. Deane showed his fear of British wrath when, as far back as 1777, he wrote to Gerard anxiously inquiring as to the authenticity of rumors that Lord Stormont had demanded on behalf of the British government that he "be delivered up." Deane to Gerard, *Deane Papers*, II, 50. The fact that he was thought in England to have incited the burning of Portsmouth while American agent in Paris made him a particularly obnoxious rebel.

(d) That Deane was not directly in the pay of England during this period, but that it is very probable that he expected to receive such benefits as might arise from governmental favor; and that possibly he expected these to take the form of assistance in the execution of his business plans (25).

What was the dominant motive in Deane's conduct? Did he write "from the impulse of duty" (26), or was he moved by a prudent care for his future safety and material welfare? The question can only be one for speculation. But whatever may be our judgment as to the moral quality of his acts, we believe that the conclusions we have drawn as to what he actually did indicate the most reasonable solution of the problem of the apostasy of Silas Deane.

RALSTON HAYDEN.

ANN ARBOR, MICH.

25. Deane's subsequent familiar correspondence with Paul Wentworth, whom he had long known as a British agent, indicates most strongly that he expected assistance from Wentworth in securing the confiscation of United States property in Holland for the satisfaction of his claims against Congress. Deane to Wentworth, *Deane Papers*, IV, 20, 59, 62, 70. He was never able to secure this confiscation, but the fact that he expected British assistance to that end indicates what may have been the nature of the reward which he anticipated would follow his return to British allegiance.

26. October 21, 1781, Deane wrote a public letter to Jonathan Trumbull, Governor of Connecticut, re-iterating the position he had taken in his previous letters. In closing he says, "I have written to you not with confidence that my sentiments will be adopted, but from the impulse of duty, and that this letter may, by its being a public one, remain on your public files to condemn or justify me on some future day. Deane to Trumbull, *Deane Papers*, IV, 513.

PRINCESS SALM-SALM, CIRCUS RIDER

FIFTY years ago the Princess Salm-Salm, who had been Agnes Leclercq (a name of her own choosing) "had the hearts of half the men in Washington and the bitter hatred and ill-will of nearly every woman in that thronged city." Of all those whom the excitement of war drew to the capital in those days, no one was more whole souled a soldier of fortune than this vivacious Bohemienne. Of her life before she came to Washington, she told only what she wished to tell; but it is certain that her brilliant and romantic career compassed the childhood of a waif, the tawdry spangles of a rider and tight-rope walker in a circus as a young woman, her marriage to Prince Salm-Salm, and the wild adventures of her service with him in three wars, in the United States, Mexico, and France, in all of which she was a noted and even important character. She died December 21, 1882, in her seventy-fifth year in Karlsruhe, Germany.

Anecdotes of Agnes Leclercq would fill a volume. Every one in Washington in the war times knew her and her audacity. She was the gossip of the highest circles, and once won a wager of a basket of champagne by daring to kiss President Lincoln at a lunch at Gen. Sickles's headquarters. From those surroundings she went on in search of adventure, until we see her contriving for the escape of the Emperor Maximilian in Mexico, and nearly succeeding—also nearly losing her life; thereafter following her husband to the Franco-Prussian War, where he was killed, at Gravelotte.

The princess Salm-Salm wrote a diary of ten years of her life and a very interesting book it is. She began that by drawing a veil over the years before 1862. The talk of Washington supplied the omissions, and report had it that she had been a waif on the streets of Paris, and had been adopted by an American Cabinet member. She herself claimed American parentage; her singular beauty was apparently Italian, and in her manner this fascinating little woman was wholly a child of Paris. There was that confusion about all of her early career. She had gone into the circus ring, not for money, of which she possessed an ample amount, but for the thrill of it, and had travelled more than three years in such company when the Civil War broke out in 1861. She went then to Washington.

Throwing over her affection for the tinsel of the circus, she now gave herself ardently to the love of the brass-buttons of the military. The revelry and bustle of Washington were life itself to her, and the sprightly Agnes Leclercq was the talk of the city. She speaks of this part of her life with delightful naïveté in her diary—"as I had to carry out certain purposes, I came in contact with all the leading politicians and heard and observed a great deal." Witty and charming, she dared to know everybody. She tells in her diary—Washington regarded it as a capital joke—that Gov. Yates, of Illinois, commissioned her a captain of an Illinois company, with pay and insignia. She was a familiar sight on Pennsylvania Avenue, riding in a tasteful habit ornamented with a captain's strap and buttons, and followed by a negro groom in livery.

In the German corps of the Army of the Potomac—the Eleventh—was a young staff officer, a Prussian who had come in search of adventure. He was a dashing personage and called himself Prince Felix Salm-Salm. Washington, beset with noble impostors, was inclined to doubt his nobility, but the Prussian Minister finally made official notification to President Lincoln of the truth of the Prince's claims. He was on Gen. Blenker's staff. For all her emotionally tempestuous nature Agnes Leclercq makes almost as short a story of the wooing as this, that they both fell victims to "the sweet malady," and were married.

In her diary she tells then of her winning Gov. Morgan, of New York to her request for a regiment for the Prince—Blenker's staff was about to be dismissed. She recounts with relish of how she persuaded the Governor, said to be a "woman hater," to give the Prince command of the Eighth Regiment, a German organization. He joined his regiment in West Virginia, and the Princess went with him, but returned, after Chantilly had been reached, to Washington. There, she writes, she was happy in her short separations from her husband, because she could "reflect quietly upon . . . her happiness."

Actually, the vivacious Princess enjoyed herself tremendously. She rejoined her husband after the battle of Fredericksburg, and was much with the army of the Potomac while it was near Washington. She was on familiar terms with hosts of generals and colonels. Once, while Gen. Hooker was in command just before the battle of Chancellorsville a series of brilliant reviews were held in honor of a week's visit by President Lincoln and his wife. The Princess was the gayest of the gay, and

was so irrepressible that she rode with a cavalcade of staff officers at a review and got in ahead of the President's wife. Mrs. Lincoln, who disapproved of her heartily—and called her always "Mrs. Salm"—was angry and demanded of Hooker that "those women" be taught better manners. Hooker swore that he would send every woman away.

"Which, of course, includes Princess Salm-Salm and Mrs. Lincoln" observed the Princess. Soon after that it was that she won her wager by kissing President Lincoln as he sat at a lunch given to him and Gen. Hooker and staff at Gen. Sickles's headquarters. The President took this escapade good-naturedly.

But the Princess's life was not all to be led among the gayeties of Washington. The Prince was sent to Nashville to join the Sixty-eighth Regiment, New York Volunteers, in June, 1864; and the Princess journeyed there through dangerous territory, returned to Washington soon after, and then once more went South, to Bridgeport, Ala., where her husband's regiment was encamped. There she remained for some time in a position of great danger, owing to the turbulent conditions in that region. Her descriptions of the army life in the field are clear and graphic. She managed to get the most of its opportunities for pleasure; she coolly remarks in her diary that when she wished to go on a visiting excursion she "telegraphed to my old friend, Gen Meagher, commanding then in Chattanooga, to send me a locomotive, which he never failed to do." After the battle of Nashville, she once more made the journey to Washington; and she relates naively how she hoped to interest her friends, Senators and Governors, in her husband's behalf. He was commissioned a general by Stanton soon afterward. Then he was sent to several places in Georgia, and the Princess accompanied him, or stayed as near as possible through it all, until the end of the war.

Life among peaceful people was not to the taste of the Prince or his Princess, and they embarked for Mexico, in 1866. The Empire was making its last stand; Maximilian had been left by Louis Napoleon to his fate. Salm-Salm and the Princess arrived in the capital just in time to see Marshal Bazaine leave. They threw in their lot with the Archduke Maximilian; and it was only a matter of a few months before Maximilian and his staff and a remnant of the army were bottled up in Queretaro, with Escobedo and his Liberals exulting outside in the city.

The daring Agnes Leclercq was ready with a plan to save, not the

Empire, but the Emperor, whose case seemed hopeless. She proposed to have him surrender Queretaro and leave the country upon condition that his life and the lives of his foreign officers be spared. With characteristic boldness, she won her way to Porfirio Diaz, and asked to be allowed to go to Maximilian with her scheme. He sent her to Escobedo. Pluckily she went on the dangerous missions. Once, coming near to a post at night time, and accompanied only by her maid, she was fired on. While the maid was frantic with fear, the Princess stood her ground and shouted "Viva Maximilian." A bullet once grazed her hair.

She went then to President Juarez and demanded a seven days' armistice in which her plan could be arranged. While she was on this mission Queretaro was surrendered, and Maximilian was in the hands of his enemies. Undaunted, the Princess was yet more courageous in her plans to save his life. If you would read a thrilling story, read her narrative of the journey and the interview with Juarez.

Meantime, she comforted the broken-spirited Emperor and made plans for his escape in the extension of life she had won for him. She asked Austria and Prussia in vain for money to bribe his captors. In her diary she writes:

"Strange! At the tail of each word of these gentlemen hung a gold ounce, but not one miserable dollar at the tips of their fingers! This paltry stinginess killed the Emperor!"

She made one attempt to buy his way out. With two notes of \$100,000 each, she sought to bribe one Col. Palacios. He was an unlettered man, and went away from her house with the note for this sum in his hand. The next day she was made a prisoner, and was in danger of the death sentence herself. Escobedo was furious and sent for her; but she in turn was resolute. After an exciting encounter, she was let go unharmed. She writes:

"I saw nothing was to be done at present, and I had to leave Escobedo's headquarters. . . . I was about entering the door of my house, which was ajar, when a little captain, who escorted me, shut the door and seized my arm. This exasperated me. I felt as if I had become suddenly six inches taller and that I became deadly pale. As quick as lightning, I drew from under my dress my little revolver, and, pointing it at the breast of the horrified captain, I cried: 'Captain, touch me with

one finger, and you are a dead man.' Escobedo, when he heard of it, said that he would rather stand opposite a whole Imperial battalion than meet 'the angry Princess Salm-Salm.'"

One more dramatic interview she had with Juarez: She threw herself at the feet of the President and besought him to spare Maximilian's life until she could send to President Johnson and Seward, and persuade them to intervene.

"In my raving agony," she says, "I exclaimed, he might take my life if blood was wanted. I was a useless woman, but he might spare that of a man who might still do so much good in another country. All was in vain. The President raised me up and repeated to me that the life of my husband would be spared; that was all he could do. I thanked him and left."

Unsuccessful with the stolid Indian, she won her way back to Queretaro, with more schemes to save the Emperor—but only in time to hear of his execution.

Even with this grief in her heart, the Princess was undaunted. The doctor treated the dead Emperor's body brutally, and to taunt the Princess came to her with relics of Maximilian, pieces of his clothes and even parts of his hand; these he offered to sell to her. She bought them, without a show of emotion, and immediately told Juarez of the deed and threatened to make it known. The doctor was punished summarily.

Thereafter she and the Prince went to Europe. The Princess, in her story, devoted much space to telling with much satisfaction how she dressed up her pet dog, Jimmy, who had been through all her experiences with her, as a baby, and so kept him with her in the train. After some time in Vienna and in several European cities, Prince Salm-Salm again went away to war, and was killed, at Gravelotte, fighting bravely. The Princess saw more of service in this war than she had in this country, and was constantly in the field as a nurse. She was decorated with the Iron Cross for bravery, and her own story of her service in trying times is sufficient evidence that she richly deserved this honor.

Read in the journal of this capable, fascinating woman the terrible details of her service with the Prussian army hospital corps, at the battle of Amiens; read, too the story of how she went to find her husband's body and to fulfil his last wish, that his body be taken back to Anhalt.

Rarely has any better picture of such scenes been given. With the shells screaming over the roof of the house, she calmly assisted the surgeon who was working at the operating table, chloroforming patients, soothing the soldiers' dying agonies, separating the mortally wounded from those who had a chance. She assented coolly to the doctor's remark that it would be time enough to think of saving themselves when one of the shells struck the hospital. The doctor attributed to her a curious power of diagnosis, and constantly inquired of her "whether she saw the shadow of death on a soldier's face."

She was under fire on several other occasions, and once when on a campaign fell ill of smallpox. She was allowed to remain in bed only four days. This was only a few days after the most harrowing experiences in a field hospital, which she tells vividly. At the end of the war she returned to Anhalt, her husband's birthplace. In 1876 she married Charles Heneage; and the remainder of her life passed amid comparatively quiet surroundings. For the quiet of a home, she said, in ending her diary, she had always wished more than for all else.

Evening Post, N. Y.

SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS' RECOLLECTIONS

Of the constantly increasing series of "Reminiscences," none could have greater weight than those of William Endicott, who has just celebrated his eighty-seventh birthday. Mr. Endicott's status is best described as "a leading citizen of Boston," rather than by attempting to attach him to any of the innumerable causes in which he has been in many instances a keystone. Of the paper read at a meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, only a portion is reproduced below. From his standing in the commercial and financial world his views on these topics are naturally the most weighty. It is thus to them that most of this article is given up. Beginning in the lighter vein, Mr. Endicott said in part:

THE INTRODUCTION OF ANTHRACITE COAL

SOMEWHERE in the early thirties rumors had reached Beverly that in Pennsylvania or elsewhere, anthracite coal was coming into use as fuel. In order to make trial of it five or six gentlemen joined together and sent to Boston for a cart load, there being no railroad.

From my father's quota, I remember a lump of about the size of a peck measure which he placed in the open fireplace and heaped about it an assortment of pine and hard woods. These burned very well, but had no effect upon the coal even with repeated trials. Considerable fuel was burned upon that occasion, but it was not coal.

Some little time later, when a grate had been installed in the fireplace and a good fire was burning in it, an old gentleman came in to view the novel spectacle. After looking at it intently for a few minutes he remarked that "it looked expensive," and retired from the scene. Little did he think that his sage conclusion would be quoted after the lapse of three quarters of a century and then, perchance, put in type and possibly read a century or two later.

At the period of which I have been speaking there was no railroad in eastern Massachusetts. The daily communication between Beverly and Boston was by stage, leaving Beverly at 8 A. M. in the summer and 9 A. M. in the winter, the trip occupying about four hours. Returning, the stage left Wildes's Hotel in Elm street, where several stage lines had their headquarters, at 3 P. M. In the winter, therefore, passengers had about two hours in which to go from Elm street, attend to

business, get dinner, and return to Elm street in season for the afternoon stage. The fare was one dollar each way. The Beverly stage rarely contained more than half a dozen passengers. The Eastern Railroad was opened to Salem in 1838, and to Beverly about a year later. I have heard my father say that a dinner was given in Salem to celebrate the opening of the road to that place, on which occasion the President stated in his speech that, in order to make the road pay, it would be necessary to have forty passengers each way daily.

A BROOK FARM LANDLADY

My first boarding place proving unsatisfactory, I soon found another which brought me into an atmosphere of idealism. My new landlady had been the housekeeper at Brook Farm, the Fourierite Community at West Roxbury which had recently come to grief and disbanded. Her husband and several of the boarders were also Brook Farmers. One of them, Mr. Charles A. Dana, was at that time assistant editor of the *Chronotype* at a salary of five hundred dollars per annum. His room at our house was upon the attic floor, as was mine, so I presume that he paid about the same price for board and lodging that I did, which was three dollars per week, and very good board it was. My salary at that time was three hundred and fifty dollars per annum.

Others of the boarders were John S. Dwight, late editor of Dwight's *Journal of Music*, Mrs. Eldredge, a widow with two little daughters, sister of N. P. Willis the poet. She soon became famous as "Fanny Fern"; Samuel W. Rowse, who later became distinguished as a crayon artist, and, at intervals, George M. Champney, a landscape artist of considerable note.

ANTE-BELLUM CURRENCY

No complete picture of ante-bellum business can be given without stating the condition of the currency, which can only be described as wretched.

First as to the silver currency. As the legal coinage ratio of gold to silver was 1 to 16, it followed that the silver coin being undervalued would not remain in circulation, and much of it went into the melting-pot or was exported. This left, say, from 1837 to 1853, mainly Spanish

fractional silver to serve for our local circulation. An act of Congress of February, 1853, reduced the quantity of silver in the small currency about 7 per cent, and then it remained at home.

Notwithstanding that no such coins were in existence here, with the exception of a very few "pistareens," it was the practice up to near the time of the Civil War to quote very many prices in shillings and pence on the basis of six shillings to the dollar. With the advent of Civil War the fractional paper currency swept away all the Spanish silver, leaving only decimal paper. When decimal silver came in after resumption, the old-fashioned prices had gone with the old-fashioned coins, and good riddance to both!

During the panic of 1837 some of the New England banks undertook the issue of bank notes. As Massachusetts law did not permit the issue of a denomination less than one dollar, they issued bills of \$1.25, \$1.50 and \$1.75.

Before the war the currency was supplied by banks chartered by the different States, all, with the exception of the Eastern States, entirely unprepared to stand any sort of strain. What was called the Suffolk bank system, by which the bills of all the New England States were constantly sent home for redemption, kept them at par, and they were the only bills that could be deposited in bank here. Bills from the rest of the country could be got rid of only by sale to brokers at a discount, small upon bills of the Atlantic States and upon others at varying discounts according to the credit of each bank. It was necessary, even for small stores, to have a copy of a "Bank Note List," both for information as to the discount upon the notes and as to counterfeits, which were many. These were published monthly by various brokers.

THE PANIC OF 1857

The panic of 1857 deserves especial mention. Of all the panics that I have seen, this was the most severe. I was absent from this country during the whole panic of 1873. Currency conditions at the West, to which I have alluded, were such as to produce almost a complete deadlock out there. They had good crops, but, with such poor currency and credit almost nil, there was great difficulty in getting them to market and realizing upon them. The houses who were owing the East were between the devil and the deep sea. If they retained the

bank notes which they were daily receiving, there was great danger of loss from bank failures; if they tried to remit to their creditors, they were met by a ruinous rate of exchange for eastern drafts, in some instances twenty to thirty per cent,—a serious loss to them in either case.

I wrote to our customers in the large cities to remit and that we would pay one half the exchange. If there was any money out there, we wanted our share of it. One house in Milwaukee remitted to us three thousand barrels of flour. When shipped it promised quite a favorable rate of exchange, but before it reached Boston the price had declined so that I doubt if there was any saving by the shipment.

I can give a very good illustration showing the great straits in which the mill treasurers found themselves. Two of the largest cotton mills of Lowell, finding it impossible to raise money in any other way, made considerable shipments of cotton to Liverpool, consigned to Baring Bros. & Co. They undoubtedly had to sell the cotton at a loss of several cents per pound, to pay Barings' commission, freight and insurance, and they sold the exchange to our firm at 4.44 4-9 the pound sterling, a loss of nearly ten per cent upon the exchange. It is probably no exaggeration to estimate the loss to the mills as one-third the amount of the transaction. But that was better than to see their acceptances go to protest.

It may be worth a little space to state the principal conditions which led up to the "Panic of 1857." The years from 1846 to 1857 had been very prosperous. The West was clamoring for railroads, and as it had very little available capital it looked to the East to supply it. Thus it came about that a vast amount of capital, largely obtained by the free use of credit, was locked up in investments not at once remunerative; the Western banks, always weak, extended their loans and became weaker; the Eastern banks became more and more extended. The panic was precipitated by the failure of the Ohio Life Insurance and Trust Company of Cincinnati, Ohio, in September.

EXIT DAVIS: ENTER LINCOLN

I spent two weeks in Washington in January, 1861, and the city was seething with excitement as to coming events. I was in the Senate Chamber on Jan. 21, 1861, when Jefferson Davis, Clement C. Clay and Senator Yulee made their farewell speeches and took leave of the Sen-

ate. After concluding his speech Mr. Davis spread out his pocket-handkerchief, put in it the stationery from his desk and took it with him as he left the Senate. I presume that he considered it to be the part, or half of it, belonging to Mississippi. I was much impressed by the feeling that he felt that he was undertaking a big job.

I had several opportunities of meeting President Lincoln during his administration. The first was soon after the battle of Antietam. The President had returned, only a day or two before, from a visit to the camp of General McClellan. It was very evident that he was very much dissatisfied with the conduct of the general both at and after the battle. He made the final removal of McClellan from command of the army within a very few days. He also told of his experience in going down the Mississippi to New Orleans in a flat-bottomed boat, and of his captaincy of a company in the Black Hawk War, all of which, from his own lips, was most interesting.

My second evening with the President was shortly before the taking of Vicksburg. There was a large map of the theatre of operations hanging upon the wall. With a candle in his left hand and a long pole in the other he pointed to the map. "There," said he, "Grant has gone in there, and at last accounts was about there, but we have heard nothing from him for quite a little while. He hopes to make his way around there (pointing to the map) and come out about there." He said that the situation reminded him of a neighbor in Illinois who kept a lot of hogs in a field from which they were constantly escaping. He found that they went through a hollow log in the fence, which was crooked, and he turned it over. The hogs kept on going through the log all the same, but came out on the same side as they went in; "and I am afraid," said the President, "that it will be so with Grant." And it was.

THE EXCUSE FOR LEGAL TENDER

Second only in importance to the question of providing an army was the question of providing means of payment. The men who were charged with this great responsibility were looking into a future full of darkness, and they are entitled to the utmost charity in estimating the wisdom, or the lack of it, in the measures adopted, especially as to the issue of paper currency and making it legal tender. After the lapse of fifty years, it is still difficult to show that any other course would

have succeeded better, notwithstanding the injustice of it. With this admission I think that it must be said that legal tender might have been, and should have been, resorted to much more sparingly.

The Senate, under the lead of Senator Fessenden of Maine, made the duties upon imports payable in coin, and pledged the same for the interest upon the five-twenty bonds, which was made payable in coin, and also for a sinking fund for the payment of the whole public debt. In my estimation this was the anchor which held the country, and none too firmly, to real money during the war and saved it from untold disaster.

Instead of making funding attractive by the offer of liberal terms the debates show a higgling about the payment of a high or low rate of interest. The twenty-year bonds authorized by the same bill were made five-twenties, that they might be refunded at a lower rate than six per cent when the war was over. Undoubtedly the offer of twenty-year seven per cent bonds would have quickened the funding of the greenbacks very much. This, rather than any mere saving of interest, should have been the true aim.

The first issue of greenbacks, one hundred and fifty millions, authorized Feb. 25, 1862, was universally represented in the debates in Congress as a temporary measure, and the assurance was given that no other issue would be required. So far was this from being realized that the statement of the public debt Jan. 2, 1863, nearly a year after the legal tender bill, showed that only about twenty-five millions of the five-twenties had been issued, while the legal tender issues had swollen to about three hundred and fifty millions. On June 30, 1864, the issues of legal tender had mounted to more than seven hundred millions, and the market price of gold was extremely fluctuating, often rising or falling ten or fifteen per cent in a day and sometimes thirty or forty per cent. This was largely due to a woful error of judgment on the part of Secretary Chase.

GOLD AT A PREMIUM OF 285½

Early in 1863 the Treasury Department had engaged Jay Cooke of Philadelphia, in vigorously pushing the sale of the five-twenties, and so successful was he that by January, 1864, the whole authorized issue of five hundred millions had been sold and the bonds were going at the rate

of two millions or more daily, pretty well up to the cost of the war, which was about two and a quarter millions per day. Clearly the thing to have done was to push the sale of the bonds in the supreme effort to avoid further issues of legal tender, but Secretary Chase had become so intoxicated by the recent sales of five-twenties that he determined to float a five per cent loan, which proved a comparative failure, only seventy-three millions being sold in a period of nearly six months. Quotations on gold, during the last year of the war, ranged usually much above two hundred. The extreme limit was reached July 11, 1864, when gold sold for 285½, making the value of the greenback thirty-five cents.

Having carefully prepared the soil that would inevitably produce speculation and watered it assiduously for two years with legal tender until all large business transactions had been brought to that complexion, the Government officials at Washington were grievously disturbed by the increasing quotations for gold, which they ascribed to speculation, and which were certainly alarming. Now it may be a fair matter of discussion whether speculation did or did not increase the daily quotations. Every buyer must have a seller, and where one party was trying to raise the price by speculative purchases the other party either thought the price as high as it would go or that the price could be lowered by speculative sales.

Might it not be that these contesting efforts would balance each other, and the price be regulated by the quantity of currency in circulation as compared with the uses for it, the lack of public confidence, and, more than all else, by the movements of the armies with the hopes inspired by successes or the dismal forebodings that followed reverses?

CONGRESS'S FIAT AGAINST "SPECULATION"

Congress took measures to lessen the speculation which, in their judgment, was the cause, by an act approved June 17, 1864, which prohibited sales of gold except for immediate payment in greenbacks or bank notes and immediate delivery at the place of business of the seller; or the sale of foreign exchange except upon the same terms, with the added permission to buy or sell exchange to be paid for and delivered within ten days. This at once caused a great commotion in the commercial centres, as it would practically work an embargo upon many

of the largest transactions. It was largely the practice, and very much a necessity, for shippers to make purchases and sales of produce as practically one transaction. The sum required for purchase money would be provided by the sale of the exchange that would result from the shipment of the merchandise to some foreign port, the advances made by the banker being secured by a lien upon the property until it was on shipboard and the exchange covered by the ship's bills of lading in the usual manner. It would obviously be impracticable to deliver such exchange at the office of the seller in Chicago and to be paid for it there in greenbacks or bank notes, while the produce might be out somewhere on the prairies and not be on board ship at New York for several weeks.

To have sent such merchandise forward without "covering" by the realization of the proceeds would have made the transaction a purely speculative one, with constant fluctuations in price following the quotations for gold, up or down, with the possibility of profit or loss as the market might go. There was much of this, of course, but the careful trader or one of moderate capital could safely do business only as I have outlined.

Of course Congress began at once to hear from large exporters especially of agricultural products. From New York protests went to Washington in regard to the provision of the law prohibiting the use of checks in payment for foreign exchange, and within three or four days the Solicitor of the Treasury decided that checks upon local banks where the money was deposited and payable on demand might be received instead of greenbacks or bank notes.

As usual, I will give a leaf from my own experience. Our firm had money on deposit which might sooner or later be used in the purchase of exchange. Not knowing what fantastic scheme might next win the favor of Congress, I concluded to send it along to a safe place.

DEFYING THE LAW: A BUSHEL OF BILLS

I went over to New York to buy the exchange and, not daring to rely entirely upon a bank draft to pay for it, as it was clearly illegal, I drew seventy thousand dollars in greenbacks and took a draft for an equal amount. I could get only small bills, probably five to twenties, so that I had a parcel well on to the size of a bushel basket and quite heavy. With this and the draft in my pocket I started for New York,

taking with me a clerk to assist in handling the package of greenbacks. I left him at the Astor House sitting on the greenbacks while I went down to Wall Street to buy the exchange. I do not know whether the Solicitor of the Treasury had given his opinion just referred to, but probably not, unless it was on that very day. Otherwise, if I had known of it I should have taken only drafts. At any rate, whatever the status of the law, I had no difficulty whatever in passing the draft. Neither the bankers nor I felt in much danger of being sent to jail for such a nefarious crime. I paid 260 for that exchange, being equal to about 237 for the gold. This was the highest-priced purchase made by me during the Civil War.

The New York quotation for gold which on June 18 was 195 on July 11 stood at 285. Instead of lowering the price, as was looked for at Washington, there was an advance of 90 per cent. The statute to which I have referred was repealed July 2, 1864, having been in force fifteen days.

THREE THOUSAND LOSS IN 30 MINUTES

As may be supposed, such violent changes made all business operations extremely hazardous. A large shipowner of Portsmouth, N. H., who usually sold our firm the exchange resulting from the freight earnings of his ships, came in one morning with a bill on London for five thousand pounds sterling. I knew the quotation at which gold had closed in New York the previous day, and told him what I would pay for it. He said that he had not made any inquiry and that he would run down to State street and be back in half an hour. I said, "All right, but my offer does not stand. Come back in half an hour and we will start again." The result was that he came back in half an hour and sold me the exchange for \$3000, less than my first offer. Before he had been gone many minutes I received a telegram from New York that gold had fallen twelve per cent or so, which made his bill worth so much the less. It does not require much business experience to perceive the annoyance and anxiety that must accompany such a condition. Everything was then depending upon the action of the armies, and in that summer we sustained some terrible reverses. The war had been prolonged beyond all expectation, and although the nation continued hopeful and confident it could not be disguised that there was great danger. The gold quotations were the barometer which showed the possibilities, and per-

haps the probabilities, of the future. When the value of the greenback had gone to thirty-five cents, it certainly showed that confidence was very much impaired and the future in doubt.

BEATING BEN. BUTLER'S SCHEME

In September, 1867, a movement was started by Senator Pendleton of Ohio, seconded by General Butler of Massachusetts, to call in the five-twenty bonds then outstanding, amounting to more than twelve hundred millions, paying them in currency then worth about seventy per cent in gold, with a view of refunding them at a lower rate of interest. I was very well informed upon that subject and was able to show conclusively that the bill authorizing the five-twenties made the duties upon imports payable in coin and pledged them not only for the interest upon the five-twenties, but also for the principal of the whole public debt, and that, in reply to constant inquiries during the sale of the five-twenties, the Treasury Department had definitely stated that the five-twenties as well as all the other public debt were payable at maturity in coin. I said further that the attempt to discharge a debt not due for fifteen years in paper currency worth but seventy cents on the dollar would be a gross breach of the public faith, not to be considered for a moment by any nation claiming to be honest.

The proofs which I adduced were so conclusive that my communication was at once copied in many of the leading newspapers of this country and by the *London Daily News*. Mr. John M. Forbes and a few others who had been connected with the Loyal Publication Society of the Civil War, resuscitated the machinery of that society and sent this and other articles which followed it, to practically every newspaper in the Northern and Western States. It was thought that the broadsides had an important influence throughout the North and West.

WILLIAM ENDICOTT.

WHITTIER'S BELIEF IN BARBARA FRIETCHIE

To the Editor of the *Transcript*:

You will without doubt be interested in the enclosed letter, sent to Mr. Whittier, which is in the possession of my family. Mr. Whittier evidently believed in the reality of Barbara Frietchie.

May 21.

FRANCIS L. COOLIDGE.

My dear friend
I have no
doubt of the substan-
tial accuracy of the
facts of the ballad
of "Barbara Frietchie".
I had the information
from a lady in Washington
at the time, & from
Dorothea Dix,
and from a nephew
of B. F.

Thy friend
John G. Whittier

Danvers
12th mo 18 1884

My dear friend:

I have no doubt of the substantial accuracy of the facts of the ballad of "Barbara Frietchie". I had the information from a lady in Washington at the time, & from Dorothea Dix, and from a nephew of B. F.

Danvers,
12th mo. 18, 1884.
(Dec. 18.)

Thy friend
John G. Whittier.

(By permission of the *Transcript*).

BARBARA FRIETCHIE

FREDERICK, Md., will have a great observance of Memorial Day. The remains of Barbara Frietchie and those of her husband, John C. Frietchie, heretofore unknown to fame, will be placed in a mausoleum in a local cemetery "with appropriate ceremonies" in which veterans of the Union army will take an appropriately conspicuous share. We trust that Frederick's expectations of a great occasion will be gratified and that no maladroit iconoclast will be allowed to disturb the ceremonies by interjecting "historic doubts." If one such disturber present himself, let him be forthwith banished beyond Frederick's boundaries. He has no business to voice "historic doubts" at what will be a literary festival. The committee of arrangements should be firm in insisting on unanimity in the audience. If they allow one veteran to remark that Stonewall Jackson was not the man to order his soldiers to fire into a house from which an aged woman was waving the flag of the Union, they must permit another veteran to observe that any commander's way would be to commit the removal of the standard to a non-commissioned officer's detachment. Let this spirit of carping analysis once get under way, and there will be nothing left of Whittier's ballad as "history." To learn history from poems and romances is to assimilate much that is exceedingly palatable. Facts and figures are covered with the jelly of imagination and so taken are swallowed easily enough by persons who would reject documentary treatment.

Whittier left us a very delightful ballad. It sings itself. It is the work of a poet who well knew his craft. Why not rejoice in our possession of the ballad and ignore the iconoclast's hateful insistence on accuracy? Shall we give up Campbell's "Hohenlinden" because military writers demonstrate that the battle was fought not at night but between 11.30 A. M. and 1 P. M. Let us enjoy Campbell's "Hohenlinden" as better than Moreau's because more spectacular. In a similar recognition of the rights of a poet let us, when we witness Shakspeare's Richard III., banish from our minds those "historic doubts" as to the Satanic character of the hunchback which Walpole and many others have advanced.

Transcript, Boston.

ERICSSON AND TIMBY

THE remains of Dr. Theodore R. Timby now repose in Oak Hill Cemetery, Washington, having been borne there from New York on last Columbus Day, and buried Oct. 12. It may be conceded, without detracting from the value of John Ericsson's great service, that Timby was the inventor of the revolving turret for naval fighting machines. It is much like the old steamboat controversy over Fitch and Fulton. The honors passed to the one who made the invention serviceable and that at a critical time. Had Timby not followed the advice of Jefferson Davis in 1843 to the effect that as there was no war in prospect, it would not pay him to have his invention patented, things might have been quite different, but for better or worse who can say. The casket was carried near Castle Williams, from whose shape Timby, when about twenty years old, caught the idea of the revolving turret.

But Ericsson has seemed to be on the defensive in more respects than one recently. A few days ago this statement appeared in the *New York Sun*: "The first steam fire engine was made in London in 1829 from plans made by Captain John Ericsson of Monitor fame. It was a failure." This has called out a rather warm response from Colonel William Conant Church, who twenty years ago published a biography of Ericsson, the best if not the only one ever produced. He most emphatically denies that the engine was a failure so far as its practical merits were concerned, though prejudice against such a machine for fire-extinguishing purposes was so strong that it failed to find a general public welcome. He declares that it was a complete success, and shortly after its completion, at a large fire at the Argyle Rooms it threw a stream over the dome of the building and continued effective operations for five hours, while the hand engines were all frozen up and useless. Soon after, a large brewery was burned and the same engine pumped beer from the vats for a month without cessation. It was afterward carried on a successful starring tour through France and Russia.

Three years after this one was built a fourth beautiful engine was constructed for the King of Prussia, and Berlin was the first Continental city to make use of this method of extinguishing fires. But prejudices

were finally overcome to the extent of giving employment to the Ericsson engines in London, and several of subsequent manufacture were used at the burning of the London Opera House and many other fires great and small, before the middle of the last century. England was well ahead of us in the use of these machines, Cincinnati receiving credit for their practical introduction in this country in 1853, though at first there was as strong opposition to them there as in London in 1829.

N. Y. Times.

ERICSSON AND TIMBY

TIMBY was a born inventor, according to his biographers. A native of Dutchess County, New York, when sixteen years of age he invented the floating drydock. Then followed a device for raising sunken vessels. Later he invented the turbine water-wheel, which was used all over the country and was a financial success. When nineteen years of age, as he was crossing the ferry on his way to Jersey City, he obtained a clear view of the old circular fort on Governor's Island and at once his mind conceived the idea of an iron structure, circular in form, made to revolve on a vertical centre, which would make all of its guns available at any desired point on the horizon.

He at once made a simple drawing of a revolving battery and in 1841 went to Washington and submitted his drawing to Senator John C. Calhoun, who asked that a model be made. In a few days the young inventor produced a small ivory model, and, Jan. 18, 1843, Mr. Timby filed the caveat for the invention of the revolving turret, paying his fee. This ivory model is still preserved.

Later, Jefferson Davis became interested in the invention as a plan of national defence, but advised Mr. Timby to defer taking out a patent at that time, saying: "We are at peace with all the world and have no need of warships." Mr. Timby followed his advice and kept the caveat alive. In the spring of the same year Mr. Timby sent by Caleb Cushing, our first minister to China, a model of a floating device of the turret. On Mr. Cushing's return, about a year later, Mr. Timby received a complimentary acknowledgment of his model from a Chinese war mandarin. The model sent to China shows the pilot house on the turret. The engineer of the *Monitor*, for some unaccountable reason, departed from this plan and placed the pilot house on the deck in the way of her own guns. All subsequent turrets, however, were according to the Timby plan.

About the middle of June, 1843, President Tyler and his Cabinet on their way to celebrate the completion of the Bunker Hill Monument, called at the governor's room at City Hall, New York, and examined an expensive model of the Timby turret.

Every year thereafter Mr. Timby continued to urge upon the Government the adoption of his turret, but without success. The year 1861 however, found the country without a navy or any system of coast defence. Patriotic men of wealth saw the necessities of the hour and the inventor of the turret succeeded in enlisting the interest of his friends, John F. Winslow and John A. Griswold of Troy. They, with C. S. Bushnell of New Haven, Conn., came forward with the determination to build a warship on the turret system at their own risk.

Winslow and Griswold furnished 90 per cent of the \$275,000, the cost of the *Monitor*, while Bushnell furnished 10 per cent of this sum. Ericsson received as a remuneration for his services as engineer 5 per cent of the gross receipts paid for the *Monitor* and other kindred vessels built by the Winslow, Griswold & Bushnell Company. Mr. Timby was paid a royalty of \$5000 for the use of his patented turret on the *Monitor*, and two other vessels built by the same company. This royalty was paid to him by his friends and was all that he ever received for his great invention.

The story of the great fight at Hampton Roads, probably the most critical in the history of the Rebellion, is familiar to every school boy. The *Merrimac* had been a first-class, forty-gun steam frigate, which had been scuttled, partly sunk and abandoned when she fell into the hands of the Confederates. She was raised and plated with railroad iron and became the terror of the coast. She was invincible until the *Monitor* put her to rout, with her prow twisted, her anchor and flagstaff shot away, her smokestack and steam pipe riddled and two of her crew killed and eight wounded, including her commander, Buchanan. The naval records show that in the hundreds of turreted vessels constructed by our Government, fifty-five were built during the Civil War, thirteen of which were double turreted.

Yet for all these turrets used by the Government the inventor and patentee received nothing. Dr. Timby invented also the system of sighting and firing guns by electricity, thus making him the designer of a complete system of coast defence.

Transcript, BOSTON.

W. E. B.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

LETTER OF J. FENIMORE COOPER TO SAMUEL HARRIS OF THE U. S. NAVY DEPARTMENT

(Cooper evidently believed the President should be something of a dictator. A recent President seemed to share his opinion.)

OTSEGO HALL, COOPERSTOWN, N. Y., 1848.

As respects General Taylor's notion of letting Congress lead the government, it appears to me that it is throwing away the principal advantage for which the office of President was created. We had such a system under the Old Congress, and it was found to be inefficient. Enough is conceded to liberty when the power in the last resort is given to the Legislature and something is due to efficiency. I have a great respect for General Taylor, but should he carry out his project in this particular, I apprehend it would be found that he would make the administration contemptible. All the provisions of the Constitution show that the intention was to give to the President just this influence which he seems inclined to throw away, while it secures the country from danger by bestowing all power, in the last event, on Congress. This is the division of authority that is most conducive to good government; an efficient executive whose hands are tied against usurpation. I have little doubt that General Cass will be elected; should he not be, I leave with you this written opinion—viz:—that General Taylor's administration will be a complete failure and give as much dissatisfaction to those who put him in as to any other portion of the country.

LETTER OF JAMES R. MALLORY, SEC'Y OF CONFEDERATE NAVY, TO—

A valuable historical document, in which the writer details with great frankness the events leading up to the rupture with the South, with particular reference to the part taken by the writer, and in defense of his actions against the aspersions of other Southern leaders.

Montgomery, Alabama, March 22, 1861.

I sent a dispatch to Slidell, Hunter and Bigbee calculated to alarm the President*, and induce him to countermand the order. I stated that we would resist it in every way we could to the last and it was a useless

*Buchanan.

menace, Bravado and insult and might provoke instant war—and was inconsistent with the President's declaration to me and others in favor of *Peace*. This had its effect. The President ordered the soldiers to remain on board the *Brooklyn* upon Chase's assurance that he would not assault the Fort.† The point was thus gained, the troops kept out and they are still at sea. . . . When in Washington we saw that Southern Naval men began to resign, and we all saw that by this course we could get no ships and we the Southern Senators deemed it best to advise those who sought advice to try and get a command before resigning. But one man applied to me, a personal friend just from a long cruise and not entitled to command. I at once got him a command afloat at Key West. He notified me that he could not leave his family at Pensacola to go to Key West. I replied, "I have had your headquarters changed to Pensacola, hold on yet." I then arranged to have his vessel ordered to report to him at Pensacola, but the same day he resigned by telegraph. I did not and ought not (and ought not) tell him my plan or motive, but if he had taken my advice, we would at least have had one vessel, whereas of all the Navy we have none except a—repaired vessel at Pensacola.

LETTER FROM OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, WITH MENTION OF
EDGAR ALLAN POE

Boston, Dec. 29, 1846.

My Dear Sir:

I hope you will do whatever you can to favour Mr. Poe in the matter of which he spoke to you in his letter. I suppose you will send him a copy of my Poems and one of "Urania", and refer him for the little facts of my outward existence to the preface to my volume, and to Mr. Griswold's book. I cannot think that he would be much interested to know that I have a little family growing up about me since friend Rufus (Griswold) posted up my history. This is almost the only change in my circumstances which has occurred since that date.

But if there is anything about me which a friend might say and a well wisher publish say it and trust to Mr. Poe's discretion.

I really believe, however, that I have nothing at present to shew for the last half a dozen years of my life, which however have not been idle and may sometime or other bear their fruit.

† Sumter.

I have always thought Mr. Poe entertained a favourable opinion of me, since he taught me here to scan one of my own poems. And I am not ashamed, though it may be very unphilosophical, to be grateful for his good opinion, and even venture to hope that he may find something to approve in one or two of my last poems—in the one you will send him and in the Pilgrim of last year if he ever sees it.

As for the autograph, that is a ticklish matter, I intend trying for one on the next page, but this sheet has a hot pressed, repulsive kind of polish more genteel than agreeable to the ambitious designs of one who would desire to be enrolled upon the list of calligraphers.

Like my eldest boy*, it does not stick to its letters; like some of my Southern friends, it seems to have a natural antipathy to the blacks.

But the attempt must be made. Modestly, therefore, yet firmly, avoiding equally the pretentious boldness of John Hancock, and the voluntary self-diminution of those who write their names in the circumference of the same sixpence, which already covers a copy of the Lord's Prayer in full,

I subscribe myself,
Yours very truly,
OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES.

* Now Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

MINOR TOPICS

VOYAGES OF ASTOR THE FIRST

John Jacob Astor, the great-grandfather of John Jacob Astor, who went down with the Titanic, twice escaped shipwreck and the fortunes of the great house were really laid on board the vessel in which the German lad sailed to America. In September, 1783, Astor, who was destined to become the richest man in the new world, was working in London for his brother George, the proprietor of a flute factory. He had toiled in the factory for two years and at the end of that time was the possessor of fifteen guineas and two suits of clothes. When the news came that Benjamin Franklin and his associates in Paris had signed the treaty which completed the independence of the United States, young Astor determined to seek his fortunes in the new land. He took a steerage passage for Baltimore and paid five of his guineas for the accommodation, which entitled him to sailor's fare. He took with him seven flutes, and when he stepped aboard had £5 of capital remaining.

That early the trip took two months in fair weather, and the vessel in which Astor was a passenger encountered very rough winds, so that it was the middle of January before she reached Chesapeake Bay. There as far as the eye could see, was nothing but ice. The ship was buffeted about and was forced against some of the bergs with such force that she threatened to sink. Astor, in alarm, changed his every-day suit for his Sunday clothes, so that if he had to swim for it and was saved, he would have his best clothes with him. It is also recorded that he ventured on the quarterdeck, only to be roughly ordered forward by the captain, and that in less than twenty years he owned a vessel manned by the same officer. Within a day's sail of Baltimore the vessel became locked in the ice. Some of the passengers were able to walk out on the ice and reach the shore, but young Astor declared that as the owner of the ship had contracted to land him in Baltimore and lodge him in the interval, he would remain on board.

One of his companions was an elderly German who was returning to America after a visit to his native land. He and his young countryman became quite friendly, and it was from this chance acquaintance that Astor learned about the money to be made in the fur business. The elder man had been a penniless immigrant himself, but had made a fortune out of furs, and did not hesitate to give young Astor many pointers that later on were invaluable to him. They remained on the ship un-

til the ice broke up in March and it is to be assumed that the owners of the vessel lost money on the contract of lodging Astor. On his arrival on shore, he went to New York, and took employment with a furrier at \$2 per week, and the practical knowledge he acquired there, coupled with the information about the buying and selling of furs which he had picked up from his fellow-passenger as they whiled away the long winter nights on the icebound boat, were the foundation of the great fortune that he built up in the course of the next forty years.

His second notable adventure with the sea was half a century later. He had been to Austria and had spent three years with his daughter, who had married Count Rumpff, and was on his way home in consequence of the panic that had been caused by President Jackson's attack upon the Bank of the United States. At this time Astor was worth \$40,000,000, and was the richest man in the United States. He reached the boat shortly before she left Havre, and induced the captain to give up his stateroom for his use.

No sooner had the vessel cleared the port, however, than Astor, who had been so eager to embark, wanted to be set ashore. Head winds kept the vessel in the channel for several days, and the millionaire became convinced that he would die on shipboard. So he asked the captain to put him ashore on the English coast. At first, frugal soul that he was, he did not offer any inducements except the very obvious one that the captain would be rid of a passenger who was becoming a nuisance. Finally he said he would give \$1000 if the captain would send him ashore.

It was arranged that he would be sent back the next day, but the wind changed and the vessel got out into the Atlantic. In a couple of days she was driven back near the coast of Ireland, and the terrified millionaire offered \$10,000 if the captain would put back with him. The captain refused, because of the dangers of the Irish coast. Finally he agreed to turn back if Astor would insure the ship against loss and would write a draft for \$10,000, besides securing the consent of the other passengers. All these conditions were complied with, except that the draft was illegible and the captain refused to accept it. The seasick millionaire went below to write another draft, but was so long about it that by the time he reappeared on the deck the vessel was many miles on her way, and the deal was declared off. This was the last time John Jacob Astor went to sea, though he lived for fourteen years after.

Mail and Express, TORONTO.

JOHN ADAMS ON TOM PAINE

"The Spissitude of the black liquor, which is spread in such quantities by this writer, prevents its daubing, because it cannot stick, and the whole has no more impression upon me than so much common water," wrote the great old John Adams in a letter just turned up in the proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society. "Spissitude" sends the reader to the dictionary; but the latest Webster will not help him until he has looked up some scientific derivatives of it and drawn inferences from some obsolete adjectives. It means the thickening of a liquid by evaporation, and John Adams was referring to the "Ink," which, he says, Thomas Paine had been "squirting in his face," at the instance of some leading stand-pat Federalists, in revolt against Adams's acceptance of arbitration and peace. The use of such language in a familiar note to a friend of his boyhood conjures up the vision of the well-bred gentleman of the period, in knee breeches and shoe buckles, employing as one of the marks and distinguishing privileges of aristocracy a sort of Englished Latin intentionally unintelligible to what the yellow press nowadays labels in its cartoons "The Common People." Latinity, in the oratory and political discussion of Georgian days, was the trade-mark and cipher of the ruling class, and Sumner's and Phillips's occasional thundering in it showed that it still survived, among the Boston aristocracy at least, until after the Civil War.

Thanks to the ingenuity and assiduity of Mr. Worthington C. Ford, we at last know what led to John Adams's launching so portentous a word at Thomas Paine, to whose powerful pen the American Revolution owed so much of the support and glory that it achieved abroad as well as at home. Even Moncure D. Conway, the biographer and panegyrist of Paine, prints the letter from Paine which probably touched off this particular explosion of Adams's without knowing all the injuries that the chivalrous Jefferson had carefully struck out to prevent their reaching posterity. Mr. Ford has deciphered the deleted lines, and in his editing of the last monthly issue of the Historical Society they are thus for the first time reproduced: "that you might keep our eyes on brother Adams, whose talent was to blunder and offend. His fractious, untractable disposition has justified this opinion of him. Like his Secretary Timothy (Pickering) he mistakes arrogance for greatness, and sullenness for wisdom. Were you in Europe you would feel afflicted as I do, for the degradation of the American character. The silent hypoc-

risiness of Washington (for I venture my opinion), gave the first stab to the fame of America, and the entire nothingness of Adams has deepened the wound." As Mr. Ford observes, these painstakingly blotted, but at last recovered, lines "entirely justify Adams's opinion of Paine." Paine's part in the French Revolution entirely explains, too, his own opinion of Washington.

Transcript, BOSTON.



BOOK REVIEWS

THE STORY OF THE CIVIL WAR
by William Roscoe Livermore, Colonel
United States Army. Part III. The
Campaigns of 1863 to July 10th.

Together with the Operations on the
Mississippi from April, 1862. In two
volumes. With about 70 maps and
plans. 8vo. pp. XXIV 517. Each
volume net \$2.50. Putnam's, 1913.

Vol. I. Chancellorsville, Operations against
Vicksburg, etc.

Vol. II. Vicksburg, Port Hudson, Tulla-
homa, and Gettysburg.

The operations described in these volumes include an account of the first, second, and third advances on Vicksburg; the military situation in January, 1863; the Bayou expeditions; the campaign behind Vicksburg; the campaign of Chancellorsville; the campaign of Gettysburg; the Campaign of Vicksburg.

This is a continuation of the story by John C. Ropes who died about twelve years ago and left unfinished his history of the Civil War. Mr. Ropes was a leader of the Bar and an eminent citizen of Boston, and attained high distinction for his works on military history and particularly on the problems connected with the campaigns of the war.

The narrative has been based as far as possible upon the official record. It is a common impression that the reports in themselves convey intelligible and detailed accounts of the operations, and that the historian has only to select from these such materials as he may need for his narrative, but the fact of the matter is, that, most of them convey no definite idea of the position of the troops to any one but the officers to whom they were addressed; and many have by themselves have no value whatever to the historian. Yet, by repeatedly comparing each with the other reports and with other evidence, by the aid of

the detailed maps of the battle-fields, such as these books contain, and when arranged by a military expert as is the case here, we can learn where almost every regiment was from the beginning to the end of a campaign or battle.

The references and maps serve as a key to make the reports much more intelligible. The author, to distinguish the names of officers of the Confederate Army from those of the Union, has followed the plan adopted in Formby's "American Civil War", and printed the former in italics in the text but not in citation matter in the foot-notes. The names of Confederate vessels are in italics, those of Union vessels in Roman with quotation marks, which is quite an improvement in history writing of this sort, and makes the whole story less complicated, for the thing is clear as the reader progresses.

It is a fact that a large part of all the history that has been written relates in some way to military operations. In the opinion of many historians today, the condition of the people their physical, intellectual, moral, and industrial development, especially in time of peace, are the only subjects worthy of their consideration. Under the present conditions, however, peace, compatible with the demands of prosperity, honor and morality, can be maintained only by due preparation for war. The one great object of war is peace. All nations should disarm but in proper sequence. The author says that warfare is barbarous.

In the period of which these volumes treat, the war for the Union became inseparably allied with the movement for the abolition of slavery in the rebellious States. There was no longer any hope of compromise. In the Western theatre of operations, for the conquest of the Mississippi Valley, the story begins at a time when the great river was controlled by the Confederacy, from a point near the junc-

tion of the Ohio, to one near the mouth and the Gulf of Mexico. In these volumes are related the naval exploits of Farragut, Davis and Porter; the defense of Corinth by Rosecrans, the repeated failures of Grant, and his final success in a campaign that has been compared with that of Napoleon around Ulm. In the central theatre of operations, the story ends with the advance of the Union Army from central Tennessee to the neighborhood of Chattanooga. In the eastern theatre, it begins with the great battle of Chancellorsville where Hooker with 138,000 men crossed the Rappahannock and was driven back by Lee with 63,000; a battle from which Lee won his great reputation abroad, and which is regarded by some foreign critics as the tactical masterpiece of the nineteenth century: and ends with Gettysburg, where the victors, threatened Washington and the great cities of the North, were defeated by Meade, and driven back with fearful loss in the greatest battle of the war. As a whole these volumes are admirable in every respect and give the best insight into the whole situation that can be obtained.

J. E. O.

THE HOOSAC VALLEY: ITS LEGENDS AND ITS HISTORY

By Grace Greylock Niles, author of
"Bog trotting for Orchids," etc.

With 110 illustrations, and Maps.

G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York: 1912.
pp. xxv. 584.

In reading this book the fact is impressed on the mind of the reader that the author's purpose is not to furnish new pages for history, but rather to present the story of beginnings in historic Hoosac in its true relation to the world's great history. Nevertheless many new pages of history are added. A large amount of legendary material hitherto uncollected, and also profuse illustrations of Revolutionary heroes and historic fields, combine to make this work very valuable and attractive, not only to the residents of Hoosac

and the Walloomsac country, but to all students and lovers of American History.

Miss Niles is an enthusiastic writer and her enthusiasm is contagious, for the reader of one of her works will be sure to read, or desire to read all the others.

The Colonial and Revolutionary history of the Hoosac Valley touches that of five important provinces: Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, and Connecticut on the South; New Hampshire Grants on the East; New York on the West, and the Green Mountain campaign ground, of Vermont, within whose borders occurred many controversies over the adopted Twenty-Mile Line between New York and New England after the English Conquest of New Netherland.

This book contains twenty-four well written chapters, and an introduction on the Hoosac Pass of the Taconac Mountains. At the end of the volume are twenty-two valuable notes, of which the first one gives the Indian origins of the Hudson, Hoosac, Housatonic and Mohawk Valleys. It may be interesting to note here that there is a chapter on the Hoosac Hunting-Grounds and Legend of St. Croix, and other chapters on Fort Massachusetts and English Hoosac, 1624-1759, Ephraim Williams and the battle of Lake George, 1747-1755; the heroes of Fort Ticonderoga, May 10, 1775; The Green Mountain Boys' Militia of Bennington, 1764-1815; Ethan Allen and the Allen family; Free School of Williamstown, and Williams College, 1785-1912; Slavery and Birthplace of American Missions; A century of progress during the Hoosac Tunnel, era 1810-1910, etc.

Many important documents are to be found in this book, which alone would make it valuable.

J. E. O.

THE STORY OF THE BRONX

By Stephen Jenkins, author "The greatest Street in the World." 1639 to 1912.

110 Illustrations and Maps. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 1912. pp. xix, 451.

This interesting volume on the Bronx is a

solid contribution to history, and is very well written. It is devoted to the romantic history of the northern section of Greater New York from the days of Jonas Bronck, after whom the Bronx was named, through the centuries crowded with events that have issued into the present. The picturesque days of the Dutch in New Amsterdam, the occupation of the country in the name of the Duke of York and its history as a royal province, the fighting era of the Revolution, and the period of development that has since then been gaining velocity are told of in a fascinating manner. These things are told of, not with reference to Manhattan, which has had her share of historians, but with reference to the Bronx, about which there was previously but very little written.

For administrative purposes the city of New York is divided into five boroughs: Manhattan, the original City of New York, which is upon the island of Manhattan; Brooklyn, the old city of that name in the County of Kings; Queens in the county of the same name, adjoining Brooklyn; Richmond, of Staten Island; The Bronx, the land lying north of the Harlem River. The Borough of the Bronx was included within the county of Westchester until 1874 for the western part of the Borough, and until 1895 for the eastern part.

Mr. Jenkins throws many sidelights on history that are of value to the reader. For instance in a description of affairs during 1776 he says: "Washington's headquarters during this time were in the Roger Morris House at Degecombe Avenue and 160th Street, Man-

hattan, the colonial mansion which later became the residence of the famous Madame Jumel, later the wife of Aaron Burr. This occupies a commanding position overlooking the Harlem River. These were times of great stress of mind and body for Washington; for he had on his hands a meddling Congress, several scheming and ambitious officers, a cowardly and thieving militia, and a rapidly disintegrating army. In fact, he felt so despairing that he said privately: "Such is my situation that if I were to wish the bitterest curse to an enemy on this side of the grave, I should put him in my stead with my feelings."

In mentioning the attack on Randall's Island on September 24th 1776, Mr. Jenkins says: "The loss of the Americans was twenty-two, including Major Henly, who died a few days later, much regretted by all who knew him, as he was a young officer of great ability and promise. The young Virginian was buried in the present Trinity Cemetery, by the side of the brave Colonel Knowlton, the hero of the battle of Harlem Heights."

There are today in the old city of New York (that is the Borough of Manhattan) but three pre-Revolutionary structures of a public character. They are (1) Fraunces' Tavern, (2) St. Paul's Chapel, (3) The Roger Morris or "Jumel" mansion. There are still a large number of famous landmarks in the Borough of the Bronx, and the author truly says that if this book leads to the preservation of one of these it has done a good work.

J. E. O.

New York City.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES AND QUERIES

INTERNACIONA NOTARO E QUESTIONARO

New York City, U. S. A.

Vol. I.

March, 1913.

No. 3.

Subscription:

Postpaid, in U. S. and Canada,
\$2.25 per year.

Postpaid, in other countries,
\$2.50 per year

Abono:

Afrankite, en Usono e Kanado,
Fr. 11.50 yare.

Afrankite, en alia landi,
Fr. 12.50 yare.

Editor: EUGENE F. McPIKE
135 Park Row
Chicago, Ill., U. S. A.

Redaktero: EUGENE F. McPIKE
135 Park Row,
Chicago, Ill., U. S. A.

ORDER OF CONTENTS

NOTICE

WORLD CONGRESS OF INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

- 001. General Research.
- 300. Sociology.
- 408.9 International Language.
- 600. Technology.
- 929. Genealogy.

ORDINO DI KONTENAJO

A VISO

MONDALA KONGRESO DI INTERNACIONA ASOCIURI.

- 001. General Serchado.
- 300. Sociologio.
- 408.9 Internaciona Linguo.
- 600. Teknologio.
- 929. Genealogio.

NOTICE

Correspondents will please write on only one side of paper and use a separate sheet for each subject. All communications must be signed, with address, not necessarily for publication, but as evidence of good faith. Each separate query should be accompanied by an addressed and stamped envelope. The editor does not assume any responsibility for the correctness of replies sent by contributors. Send all communications to the editor.

EUGENE F. McPIKE
135 Park Row, CHICAGO, Ill., U. S. A.

AVISO

Korespondanti volentes skribar sur nur un latero de la papero, ed uzas aparta folio por omna singla temo. Omna komunikaji mustas esar subskribata, kun adreso, ne necese por imprimi, ma nur kom garantio de bona fido. Omna singla questiono devas esar akompanata de adresita kuverta, e respondokuponon. La Redaktero ne asumas irga responsiveco por la respondi sendita de korespondanti. Turnes sempre a la Redaktero.

EUGENE F. McPIKE
135 Park Row, CHICAGO, Ill., U. S. A.

WORLD CONGRESS OF INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

The World Congress of International Associations which will convene in Brussels, Belgium, June 15th to 18th, 1913, was organized by the Union of International Associations. Among the many adherents throughout the world are organizations devoted to nearly all lines of human endeavor.

The coming Congress in June, will be of great assistance in establishing ways and means for more direct and efficient intercommunication pertaining to all kinds of useful information. At the same time, consideration will be given to the increasingly important problem of an auxiliary language for international use. The strongest, because the best, candidate for ultimate adoption in our opinion, is "IDO" which is making good progress among competent authorities. Our readers will observe some additional remarks on "IDO" under the classification 408.9, on another page.

The *Office Central des Associations Internationales*, Rue de la Régence, 3 bis, Brussels, publishes an official organ: *La Vie Internationale; revue mensuelle des Idées, des Faits et des Organismes Internationaux*, which appears monthly, in French, at a subscription price of 25 francs or \$5.00 per year. That is an interesting publication with which all students of internationalism should become familiar.

OOI. GENERAL RESEARCH.

(62) An interesting article on "Special Library Service," by G. W. Lee, has been reprinted from Stone & Webster Public Service Journal, of recent date. Therefrom we learn that the Boston Co-operative Information Bureau is adding the services of a special inter-library worker, "who, while making headquarters at the Public Library, considers the community her archives of information; freely using the

telephone, visiting other libraries, professors and various specialists and business houses as occasion may call for. Her service is available indirectly or by courtesy to almost any one, particularly to members of the Co-operative Information Bureau; the prior claim to her time, however, belongs to the special subscribers who have contributed upwards of a \$25.00 minimum, for a period ending December 31, of the current year."

300. SOCIOLOGY

(63) Mrs. Mary Hanchett Stone, Librarian of the International Peace Bureau, 322 West 72d St., New York City, would be pleased to receive any publications on subjects without the general scope of that organization.

408.9. INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE

(64) The Royal Hungarian Polytechnical University in Budapest, under an official decision, has authorized the teaching of the international language Ido (Reform-Esperanto), as an optional study. Dr. Baron Sigismund de Szentkereszty, of the Hungarian Ministry of Commerce was chosen as teacher of Ido. A proposition made by the Secretary of the Hungarian Esperantists, that the teaching of primitive Esperanto be permitted, was rejected.

(65) Some new pamphlets on Ido, for the English student, are obtainable, at small cost, from Fr. Schneeberger, Lüssbingen (Solothurn), Switzerland. The Editor will supply information concerning the matter, upon request.

600. TECHNOLOGY

(66) "Methods of increasing the use of technical literature," by Miss Krause, in the *Engineering Record*, May 17, 1913.

929. GENEALOGY

(67) The newest genealogical periodical in England is *The British Archivist*, published by Chas. A. Bernau, 20 Charleville Road, London, W. (\$4.00 per year, postpaid). Each number is divided into four parts separately paged.

(68) There have been several letters in the London *Times* as to the utility of a general index of wills. It may be a long time before anything of the kind is accomplished.

(69) DAY. There seems to have been a colony of Days in and about Chatham and Rochester, Kent. The index of wills and administrations of the Court of the Archdeaconry of Rochester shows these entries:

Day, Esther, Chatham, July 1741.

Day, John, Chatham, Aug. 1732.

(70) PARRY. Will of John Parry, of East Greenwich, Kent, gent.; to daughter Sarah Parry, £65; to son Bernard Wilson Parry, wearing apparel; residue to wife Ann Parry; she and William Leighton of Threadneedle Street, gent., executors. Dated May 3, 1776. Witnesses: Ann Loving, Eliz William. Proved 28 March, 1781, by relict. (P. C. C., 161 Webster.)

(71) PYKE. Will of James Pyke, of Deptford, Kent; wife Catherine; sons William, George and James; wife and eldest son William, executors. Witnesses: George Edge, Thos. Wellings, John Sendall, her ser^t. Dated Feb. 17, 1718; proved March 11, 1718.

(72) PYKE. Will of William Pyke, Sen^r., of Lewisham, Kent, Uphold^r.; son James Pyke, deceased; messuage in Cecil Court, Saint Martin's Lane, known as the Black Lyon; wife Joanna; messuage in Marlbro' Court, parish of St James; son William Pyke, Dated Aug. 6, 1720; proved Aug. 27, 1720.

(73) PYKE. Will of Richard Pyke, citizen and cordwainer; dated Jan. 23, 1730, proved March 26, 1731. Executors, William Turner of Westminster, hackney coachman, and Richard Williams, of Leadenhall Stree, Goldsmith. Mentions sons Waddis Pyke, Henry Pyke. (P. C. C., Isham, 78.)

(74) PYKE. Waddis Pyke of Gold Hanger, Essex, batchelor and Mary Chamberlain, of Walden, Essex, spinster, were married May 22, 1735; (Register of St. Benet, Paul's Wharf, London).

(75) FREEMAN and PARRY. In the Registers of St. Mildred, Breadstreet, London, are these baptismal entries:—

1733, Nov. 22, Mary, daughter of Wm. and Mary Freeman.

1745, June 21, Sibella, daughter of John and Mary Parry.

Also (*ibid.*) marriage entry:

"1805, May 9. Thomas Davis Knight, of St. Margaret Moses Batchelor, and Susannah Parry, of St. James, Clerkenwell, Spinster; Lic.; by J. M.

Witnesses: Thos. Adlington, Bedford Row, Annette Steward, Ann Knight."

And (*ibid.*) these burial entries:

1814, Nov. 6, Cooper Freeman, Newgate Street, 2 yrs. 11 mo.

1821, July 15, Thomas Parry, Bread Street, 48.

(76) FREEMAN. In the Consistory Court of Rochester, Kent, 1728 (Somerset House, London) is will of one William Freeman, mariner, which has not been examined.

(77) HALEY. Will of James Haley of St. Paul's, Deptford, potter, beloved wife Penelope. Dated Feb. 2, 1741. Witnesses: Matthias Barker, Richard Stanly, Wm. Holt. Proved May 17, 1744, (Archdeaconry of Rochester, Kent, 1744).

(78) HALLEY. In the Public Record Office, London, (Close Roll 4190) is said to be an Indenture of 17 April, 1665, *in re* sale of property at Bushey, Hertfordshire, for £150 to Edmund Halley, citizen and Salter of London, the father of the astronomer Halley.

(79) HALLEY. "Frans Hally and Elliner Pike, Boath of Allhallowes Staeing, married Aug. 17, 1696." (From the printed Register of St. Christopher le Stocks, London.)

(80) PIKE. The John Pike who migrated from England to New England, in 1635, and settled at Newbury, Mass., was, in the opinion of Miss Elizabeth French, of London, identical with the John Pike who married Dorothy Day at Whiteparish (near Landford, in eastern Wiltshire), 17 Jan, 1612-13, and had a son John, baptised there 8 Nov. 1613. See *New England Historic Genealogical Register*, for July, 1912, vol. LXVI., page 261. See also *Notes and Queries*, London, for Feb. 8, 1913.

(81) PIKE. Will of James Pike of St. Nicholas, Deptford, house carpenter; son James Pike; son William Pike; leasehold tenement in Deptford; daughter Ann wife of Wm. Chamberlain of Deptford, plumber; and daughter Mary wife of John Derrickson of Greenwich, carpenter. Dated July 15, 1722. Witnesses: Wm. Chubb, John Wilson, Thos. Torkington. Proved Aug. 26, 1774. (Archdeaconry of Rochester, Kent, 1774, in Somerset House, London.)

(82) PIKE. William Pike of Deptford, Kent, Batchelor, and Sarah Penn, of Lewisham, Kent, Spinster were married Jan. 1, 1725. (Reg. of St. Benet, Paul's Wharf, London, page 213.) An exhaustive

search of the parish registers of both St. Nicholas and St. Paul's, Deptford, might yield some new data concerning the families of Parry and Pyke as related to Freeman or Day.

(83) PIKE. Will of William Pike, of St. Nicholas, Deptford, house carpenter; wife Sarah, sole exix., dated Jan. 4, 1744-5. Witnesses: George Pike, Thos. Wellings. Proved Jan. 15, 1744-5. (*Ibid.*, 1745.)

(84) DAVIS. Will of Elizabeth Davis, of St. Paul's, Deptford, widow; nephew George Pike of Woolwich, shipwright, niece Persis wife of Thomas Jones; sister Ursula Smith, widow; niece Sarah Turner, widow. Witnesses Thomas Wellings, Ed. (his clerk). (*Ibid.*, ? 1743.) Probably the niece Persis, wife of Thomas Jones is Pieris, daughter of James Pike, baptised at Deptford, 1693.

(85) STEWART A partial search of Edinburgh records has not yielded any new facts regarding the Sibella Stewart, buried in 1698. "I have seen the Burial Register and it gives no further information . . . I have examined Wills and Land and personal registers, also some of the City local records, all without result."

(86) TURNER. Sarah Perry, daughter of Barnard and Sarah Turner, was born March 28, 1772, and baptised April 25. (See Reg. of St. Benet, Paul's Wharf, London, pages 111-112.)

William Turner, of St. Saviour, Southwark, Surry, Batchelor, and Sibylla Peake, of the same, spinster, were married April 2, 1727. (*Ibid*, page 327.)

ADDENDUM

(*Too late to classify*)

(87) The Eighth International Congress of Students will meet in Ithaca, New York, August 29 to September 13, 1913, under the auspices of the Cornell Cosmopolitan Club. The official organ of the American chapters is the *Cosmopolitan Student*, edited by Mr. Louis P. Lochner, 612 South Brearly Street, Madison, Wisconsin. At the congress will be presented a proposition to establish an international student magazine, to promote intercommunication on various subjects of study and research. This, in part, is well within our own scope.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES AND QUERIES would gladly co-operate in the interchange of useful information.

VOL. XVI

No. 4

THE
MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

WITH
NOTES AND QUERIES

Americanus sum: Americani nihil a me alienum puto

APRIL, 1913

WILLIAM ABBATT
10 LIBERTY ST., POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y.
AND
410 EAST 32D STREET, NEW YORK CITY

Published Monthly

\$5.00 a Year

50 Cents a Number

THE MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

WITH NOTES AND QUERIES

VOL. XVI

APRIL, 1913

No. 4

CONTENTS

BOSTON AND EMANCIPATION	ALBERT H. GILMER	141
THE CONWAY CABAL	CHARLES NEVERS HOLMES	148
ELIZA LESLIE	HELEN A. McCAULEY	161

MINOR TOPICS:

A Remarkable Letter by Secretary Stanton, 1862	165
(Communicated by Mr. James M. Swank)	

Harriet Tubman	ANNE FITZHUGH MILLER	169
--------------------------	----------------------	-----

A Century Ago	E. W. H.	172
-------------------------	----------	-----

INTERNATIONAL NOTES AND QUERIES	173
---	-----

Entered as Second-class matter at the Post Office at Poughkeepsie, New York, Act of Congress, March 3d, 1879.

THE MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

WITH NOTES AND QUERIES

VOL. XVI

APRIL, 1913

No. 4

BOSTON AND EMANCIPATION

NEW Year's Day, 1863! Fifty years ago all Boston arose and asked one question—"Will President Lincoln issue the promised Proclamation of Emancipation? Around the breakfast-table, from which some were missing, gone to the Southern battlefields or beyond, the question was asked. On the streets business men exchanged "pros and cons." Senator Sumner had stood so close to the President as to have reason for his belief that the proclamation would appear. He had notified his Boston friends and the city had prepared to honor the day in a manner worthy of the forthcoming deed. The proclamation-to-be would become the complement of the Declaration of Independence. Little wonder Boston was awake early in trembling anticipation.

Through the watches of the night the colored population had waited for the coming of the new year, for the dawn of a new era. The President had declared, as a war measure, on Sept. 22, that if the seceded States did not lay down their arms in one hundred days he would proclaim all the slaves in those States free. The hundred days would be up by the first day of the year. In speeches and in newspapers both Northern and Southern it had been declared he would not dare to do as he had said, that such an unconstitutional act would block reunion forever and provide foreign Powers with sufficient grounds for recognition of the Southern Confederacy, that it would mean presidential suicide, the early triumph of the Democratic party and an ignoble compromise-ending of the war. Between hope and fear the colored people vacillated. To Rev. Mr. Grimes's church on Southac street and to the colored chapels on Anderson street they went to pass the last hours of the old year, and to welcome with prayer and song the coming of freedom.

Confident ones had made extensive plans for celebration. Three meetings were announced, for forenoon, afternoon, and night, in Tremont Temple, under the auspices of a Negro organization called the Union Progressive Association. Frederick Douglass, the Moses of his race, was to speak and a letter from William Cullen Bryant was to be

read. A committee of representative Boston men had announced a jubilee concert at Music Hall. Prices were fifty cents and a dollar, the proceeds to be given for the education of the freedmen. Many of the older Abolitionists had received invitations from Mr. and Mrs. George Luther Stearns to attend an evening reception, at which the Brackett bust of John Brown would be formally unveiled and installed in their home. Surely the old city of three hills had appropriately set the stage for a great act.

By a strange coincidence one of the newspapers that day contained a letter to a Boston lady from Victor Hugo, a charge almost, that the United States must do that very thing which the President was planning to do.

"What!" he exclaimed. "Slavery sanctioned by law among that illustrious people who for seventy years have measured the progress of civilization by their march, demonstrating democracy by their power and liberty by their prosperity! It is the duty of this Republic to set such a bad example no longer. Slavery in the United States! It is a shame and she was never born to bow her head. The United States must renounce slavery or they must renounce liberty." It was the answer of the nation to this reproof, that Boston was awaiting.

"The charming weather," one chronicler says, "brought everybody out of doors and the streets never looked brighter or gayer, nor the wares in the shop-windows more attractive. The day was celebrated by the colored people with enthusiasm, although their joy was somewhat tempered from the fact that their hopes might be crushed. In the evening the usual social gatherings took place, and out of town, fast nags were put to their best paces over the snow in the moonlight."

Large crowds filled Tremont Temple at all three meetings. In the morning the majority of those present were "whites"; in the afternoon, and also in the evening, owing to the announcement of the approaching proclamation, the majority was in favor of the "blacks." Hundreds were turned away from the festival in Music Hall. There, at three o'clock in the afternoon, assembled the city's musicians, poets, philosophers, essayists, educators, men of public spirit, and many of the families of property and standing. Some came to have a feast of fine music; others to catch the spirit of the expected instrument of freedom.

In large letters upon the front of the programme it was stated that

the festival honored "the day, the proclamation, the emancipation of the slave, the spirit of the fathers, and the Constitution." The purpose was further announced as follows:

The exigencies of the war have made necessary, in the judgment of the President, and as an exercise of the military power of the Government, the issue of a proclamation, emancipating all persons held as slaves in such States as shall be in rebellion against the Federal Government on the first of January, 1863.

Confident in the belief that this first day of the new year will prove the complement of the Fourth of July, 1776, and a new era in the history of the Republic, when the soil of America, hallowed anew by the sacrifice of so much heroic blood, shall no longer be trodden by the foot of a slave, we propose to celebrate the occasion by a Music Festival, at the Boston Music Hall, on Thursday afternoon, Jan. 1, 1863, the proceeds of the sale of tickets to be appropriated to the benefit of the freed slaves, under the auspices of the Educational Commission.

Thereunder followed the names of the committee: H. W. Longfellow, Josiah Quincy, Jr., Edward Atkinson, Martin Brimmer, R. W. Hooper, James M. Barnard, Edward E. Hale, Francis Parkman, James T. Fields, S. G. Ward, R. W. Emerson, William Endicott, Jr., George S. Hale, James Sturgis, James T. Fisher, J. P. Couthouy, U. S. N., J. M. Forbes, Henry Lee, Jr., B. Schlesinger, Charles E. Norton, O. W. Holmes, J. S. Dwight, John G. Whittier, John P. Putnam, Otto Dresel, E. P. Whipple, F. H. Underwood, R. E. Apthorp, John C. Haynes. On the back of the four-page programme floated the Stars and Stripes in the rays of the sun of a new dawn.

INDIFFERENT BOSTON NEWSPAPERS

The committee had the assistance of the Grand Philharmonic Orchestra, conducted by Mr. Carl Zerrahn, a full chorus under the direction of J. B. Lang, and also, as soloists, Mr. Otto Bresel and Mr. August Kreissman. The musical programme consisted of seven selections: Beethoven's Overture to "Egmont," Concerto in E flat ("Emperor"), and the Fifth Symphony, in C minor, Rossini's Overture to "William Tell," Dr. O. W. Holmes's "Army Hymn," arranged for solo and chorus by Otto Dresel, and two choruses.

From the newspapers of the day following we of a later generation can get only a faint reflection of the emotion of that notable occasion.

All of the accounts of it in four Boston dailies, put one after another, do not make a full column. The *Liberator* was a little more generous. Of course the feature in each was the half-column proclamation itself. One representative of the press accepted the event as labelled and reported it purely as a musical affair. Of the nine short paragraphs in his account only one is devoted to other than professional criticism of the dry-as-resin kind. Emerson is dismissed early with one line, "The characteristic verses of Emerson to prologue the entertainment." From this report we may learn: "The orchestra played with rare unity and accord with the piano and made a fine background of harmony for the leading instrument. Nor ought we to omit noticing the fine Chickering 'grand' that responded so eloquently and musically."

Not from the published chronicles then can we obtain an adequate record of our greatest New Year's Day. Many are still living who can recall it dimly. Some inscribed their doings and their feelings, and it is to these private diaries and to letters in which those present tried to convey to absent ones their impressions, that we must go for information.

Three o'clock was the hour set for the Jubilee Concert and by that time Music Hall was full and many had been disappointed at not getting in. Notices in the newspapers had announced nothing but a musical programme. Those in charge, however, had deeper purposes, and surprised the audience through the announcement of Josiah Quincy, Jr. just as the orchestra was about to begin, that Mr. R. W. Emerson would read a poem. One of the reporters present evidently was not a "transcendentalist," but a greater admirer of the introducer than of the introduced. He wrote, "Josiah Quincy, Jr., stepped forth and in a few complimentary words, such as that gentleman has the rare knack of using, introduced R. W. Emerson. The 'philosopher' of Concord thereupon proceeded to read rather a good poem in his usually bad manner. However, as it was short, the audience did not get out of patience. The matter balanced the manner. Mr. Emerson got considerable applause." The "rather good poem" was the "Boston Hymn" which Emerson had written for the occasion. It appeared in the next issue of the *Atlantic Monthly*.

As Emerson was reading his poem, President Lincoln was signing the engrossed copy of the Emancipation Proclamation in Washington. Announcement of this act the audience awaited. The orchestra opened

the programme with Beethoven's Overture to "Egmont." This and the subsequent numbers proved how wisely and appropriately someone had chosen for the occasion. The music vividly portrays the struggle of the Netherlands against the Spanish tyrant. Deep notes of devotion and rejoicing were struck in the selections from Mendelssohn's "Hymn of Praise." The chorus, with assisting soloists sang:

The sorrows of death had closed all around me, and hell's dark terrors had got hold upon me with trouble and deep heaviness. But, said the Lord, "Come. Arise from the dead and awake, thou that sleepest. I bring thee salvation."

The night is departing; the day is approaching. Therefore, let us cast off the works of darkness, and let us gird on the armor of light.

The night is departing!

At this point the programme was interrupted by an announcement that General Saxton, of the department of South Carolina, had declared the slaves free in the district under his command. A great chorus burst forth with Oliver Wendell Holmes's "Army Hymn," "O Lord of Hosts," in which many of the audience joined, as the verses were printed in full upon the programme.

From the platform announcement was then made by Josiah Quincy, Jr., that President Lincoln's proclamation was coming over the wires. Men and women arose enthusiastically and gave cheer upon cheer for President Lincoln and three cheers for William Lloyd Garrison. Some hisses were marked among the latter, but generally speaking, "the audience representing the highest culture and fashion rejoiced in the proclamation and welcomed the announcement of freedom."

Holmes's "Army Hymn" was repeated, and the orchestra began the Fifth Beethoven Symphony. The great chorus, inspired by the enthusiasm running like electric currents through the hearts of all, sang with overwhelming spirit from Mendelssohn's "Elijah." "He, watching over Israel, slumbers not nor sleeps. Shouldst thou, walking in grief languish, He will quicken thee." This was supplemented chorally by the "Hallelujah Chorus" from Handel's "Messiah."

From the floor someone shouted out, "The proclamation is said to be all that was expected or desired." Cheers greeted it. That was as near as the Music Hall audience came to hearing the message. To the "William Tell" overture by Rossini they listened rather impatiently.

They were soon out upon the streets after that closing number. Little news was there to be gained, for the proclamation did not come over the wires until night. Many who had come with the expectation of hearing the message of freedom, hastened home to tea and then went to the evening meeting in Tremont Temple. There the proclamation was read at ten o'clock amid wild enthusiasm.

Favored members of the older Abolition group, with their families, took the horse-cars to Medford that night, and walked to the Stearns home on the hill at the edge of the town. The lights through the large French windows sent welcoming rays out among the trunks of the ever-green trees and across the slope of sparkling snow.

As the guests entered they noticed on the first landing of the stair-way an object veiled with a covering of blue cloth spangled with silver stars. Everyone surmised that the veiling hid the marble bust of John Brown. In parlor and library the fireplaces blazed cheerily. Around them assembled a notable gathering of the Boston leaders in the movement against slavery. Phillips, Garrison, Mrs. Howe, Alcott, Sanborn and Emerson were there. The day had brought the culmination of their hopes and efforts. Although they had not heard the Proclamation, they rejoiced that authority at Washington had said the slave should be free. That which they had devoutly prayed for, lived for, worked for, and many of their flesh and blood had died for, was at last a reality.

It is quite probable that the art treasures of the parlors, the miniature Venus of Melos, the three charming bas-relief masterpieces by Thorwaldsen, "Cupid and Psyche," "Morning" and "Evening," received less attention than they merited and ordinarily would have had from guests. Two topics of conversation were discussed in all the groups that formed for exchange of greetings and opinion, viz., the effort of the Proclamation and the preparation which John Brown had made for such a stroke for freedom. The names of John Brown and Lincoln were often linked. In those rooms he had been welcomed and his tale of the Kansas struggle eagerly and sympathetically listened to. By the fire-place in the parlor Brown had told in 1857 of the suffering of men, women and children at the hands of the "Border Ruffians." Henry, the twelve-year-old son of Mr. Stearns, became interested in the old man's account, especially in what he said about the hardships of the children of the Territory. The boy ran away and returned with the

savings of his little bank and gave them to John Brown, telling him to buy something for a poor little boy in Kansas. He accompanied his gift with the childlike request, "Mr. Brown, will you sometime tell me what kind of a little boy you were?" Brown promised, and as a result Mr. Henry L. Stearns still cherishes in his John Brown box of manuscripts and mementoes this original of the "Autobiography," the only authentic account of John Brown's early years. Everyone felt that the spirit of Brown was again present on the occasion and had he been there in person he might have sung his favorite hymn, "Blow ye the trumpet, blow"; for the day of the Lord was at hand.

"After a proper interval for the communion of the spirit," as wrote one who was present, "it was announced that the bust of him of Harper's Ferry would be uncovered by the hand of Wendell Phillips." About fifty guests were present, and those who could not stand in the hall listened and looked on from the parlor and library, the doors of which opened into the hall. The striking figure of Mr. Phillips fitted admirably into the setting of the scene to be enacted. He stood upon the first landing of the beautiful old-fashioned staircase beside the covered bust, which had lately come from the studio of the well-known Boston sculptor, Edwin A. Brackett. Mr. Phillips spoke with quiet, exquisite grace and appropriateness.

Mr. F. B. Sanborn, the young and active "resistant" Abolitionist, who had stood so close to John Brown in his work, had come with his bride of a year and some good verses upon his old friend. Modesty prevented him from reading them, but Wendell Phillips presented them to attentive and sympathetic ears. Later in the evening Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, in a penetrating voice, quivering with emotion, recited her "Battle-Hymn of the Republic." Port Royal songs were sung around the parlor piano, the last one made by Mr. Chickering before his death. Refreshments were served to succeeding groups in the dining-room. Mr. Stearns had arranged for special horse cars to carry back the party to Boston. Before the guests had departed the clock was preparing to strike the last hour of Emancipation Day, which the facile pen of one of the ladies present characterized as "that historic January 1st, 1863—a fair and royal day worthy to wear upon its maiden brow the crown placed upon it."

ALBERT H. GILMER.

Transcript, Boston.

THE CONWAY CABAL

WASHINGTON, in depression and defeat, at Valley Forge; Washington, in triumph and victory, again at Trenton, crossing the old bridge over Assanpink Creek, bestrewn with flowers. Washington amid the miserable intrigue of the Conway Cabal; Washington landing in New York at the foot of Wall Street, amid the enthusiasm and respect of his fellow-citizens. George Washington—reviled and disparaged by both strong and weak men; George Washington—inaugurated the first President of the United States, hailed and acclaimed as savior and Father of his Country!

What a contrast and what a change; yet a contrast and a change which have occurred all too frequently throughout Earth's history. The impatience and pettiness of human nature, the proverbial fickleness of the mob, the disheartening desertion of friends, the sudden and almost inexplicable weakness of otherwise great men, have been illustrated all too often from the beginning of the Christian era to the beginning of this twentieth century. A seeming failure will provoke criticism; a sudden unpopularity—albeit wholly undeserved—will tend toward a greater degree of unpopularity; public opinion and public confidence are easily changed and modified; and he that has climbed as it were, to the top of the ladder in popular reputation, can by a single misstep fall from his agreeable preeminence to the very depths of oblivion. Such a sudden and overwhelming fate is not reserved wholly for the man of meagre ability; it frequently overtakes and blights a man who is most worthy both by mentality and character to adorn some lofty and conspicuous public station.

When Washington took command of the American army, on the 2nd of July, 1775, the patriotic cause of the colonies seemed to be, on the whole an encouraging one. The hasty retreat of the British from Concord and Lexington, their hard-earned victory on the slope of Bunker Hill, and the successful investment of the town of Boston, were fresh in everybody's mind; and to the average patriot there appeared no serious obstacle that would prevent a triumphant sequence of such successes. It is true that the British had succeeded in escaping capture during their retreat from Lexington, and that Boston remained in the hands of the enemy. But the war thus far was rather in favor of the

Americans, and a spirit of public optimism pervaded the minds and encouraged the hopes of the rebellious subjects of George III.

This spirit of public optimism was further augmented by the evacuation of Boston, on the seventeenth of March, 1776; but the fortunes of war that succeeded this memorable event were not favorable to the success of the Americans. On August 27, 1776, they were defeated in the battle of Long Island and, on September 15, the British captured and occupied a part of the city of New York. The battle of White Plains followed, on the twenty-eighth of October, while the capture of Fort Washington and the evacuation of Fort Lee occurred respectively upon the sixteenth and twentieth of November. These successive defeats and disasters were redeemed by Washington's two victories at Trenton and Princeton; but his subsequent campaign around Philadelphia was at first a disheartening failure, for following the defeat of Brandywine, Howe occupied Philadelphia (September 27, 1777), and the American commander was again defeated in the battle of Germantown, on the fourth of October, 1777.

Washington's military prospects and his individual chances of accomplishing his country's independence were certainly poor enough as the winter of 1777 drew nearer. He and his troops were still in the vicinity of Philadelphia, and, on December 4, 1777, Howe marched forth in a final attempt to drive them away. At this time Washington's army consisted of about seven thousand available men, some four thousand being ill or not properly equipped and after some skirmishing, during which the British lost over one hundred men, Howe withdrew to the comforts of Philadelphia, leaving his opponents, as it were, "out in the cold." In fact, winter headquarters for Howe and his army were most satisfactorily and luxuriantly provided; the comforts and society of the Quaker City surrounding them on every hand. But, in the case of Washington and his army, conditions were entirely, harshly, different. He was forced to look around in the uninviting environments of Philadelphia for headquarters for himself and his officers, and for shelter for his small, inadequately equipped army. After some consideration, he decided to establish these winter headquarters about twenty miles north-west of Philadelphia, in the tiny village of picturesque surroundings, called Valley Forge. Amid these surroundings, on December 19, his troops prepared to pass the winter, the American commander making his military home in Isaac Potts', a stone house.

Descriptions of the winter spent and endured at Valley Forge are numerous and graphic; how they built their own huts, and waited behind their breastworks for the spring to come. How they starved on insufficient provisions and shivered in insufficient clothing. How, not infrequently, some of them could be followed by the blood-tracks left by their naked feet upon the snow. At one time, so it is said, no fewer than three thousand men were present in camp who were utterly unfit for duty, owing to lack of proper clothing and shoes. Yet this American army, as a whole, held together; its soldiers suffered in silence, and awaited heroically an almost hopeless future. The noble spirit of pure patriotism inspired them and the influence and example of Washington sustained them. But hard and harsh as were the enemies of physical discomfort and suffering, there arose other foes, and these other foes were indeed those of their own household!

Secret conspiracies and political plottings are almost as old as human history; and the future will in all probability be as prolific as the past or the present in producing such underhand machinations. Such may be caused either by some sequence of events or be simply the ambitious intrigue of some scheming individuals. In the first case, a protracted condition of national unrest will sooner or later bring this national unrest to a head, through the half-hidden expression of some plot or conspiracy; in the latter case, a prosperous state of national peace and tranquillity will be rudely disturbed by the secret and potent plans of some person or persons. At the time when Washington and his army in the south were miserably encamped at Valley Forge, and the future looked so black for the realization of American independence, a sequence of events and a feeling of popular unrest and discouragement over the progress of the war, had created conditions favorable to unpatriotic intrigue. In other words, a dangerous spirit of discontent was rife; and certain individuals seized upon this opportunity to further their ambitions.

Had Washington been uniformly and brilliantly successful throughout the whole war, such a cabal or intrigue would not or could not have risen. The expression that "nothing succeeds like success" is familiar; and the public is not likely to grumble about an individual who is really accomplishing something for it. But let such an one appear to falter or stumble; and not a few of the public will at once begin to ciritcise and complain. Past successes are immediately forgotten, and even the

voices of those to whom the masses are wont to listen with respect and consideration, are also raised in depreciation of this unfortunate individual. At such a time there will arise the political charlatan and the persuasive demagogue, to assert privately or publicly that he is far more capable of filling a national position than is the man whom the multitude is beginning to criticise. And unless such an individual is endowed both with strong mentality and common sense, as well as supported by some popularity and influence, it may result that he will be most unjustly torn from his lofty pedestal, and be replaced by some one less competent, causing permanent and irreparable injury to the welfare of the nation.

At the time when Washington and his army were encamped amid the misery of Valley Forge, as the fortunes of war stood, the British had easily the better of it. It is true that they had been obliged to evacuate Boston; but in exchange for Boston they had captured the important centers of New York and Philadelphia. It is also true that they had been defeated at Trenton and Princeton, and had received a more serious setback at Saratoga; but on the other hand they had won such battles as Long Island, White Plains, Brandywine and Germantown. Moreover, the British felt that they were supported by the great resources of Old England, and that in the long run or perhaps in a very short time the fewer people and weaker finances of the rebellious colonists would result in the enforced conclusion of the war. From the English standpoint such a confident belief in the ultimate result of the struggle between the "mother country" and her colonies did not seem extravagant, while from the American standpoint the achievement of this nation's independence began to look during the dark and depressing days of the winter of 1777-78 rather dubious and hopeless.

Criticisms of Washington, more and more outspoken, had been heard both from higher and lower sources, as the war went on without any decisive success for the cause of the patriots. Even John Adams who had been the earliest to suggest the name of Washington, as commander-in-chief, became as it were decidedly lukewarm; and did not support the General with his voice and influence. Indeed, he appeared to be dissatisfied with the results accomplished, and even went so far as to declare that he was "sick of Fabian systems" and "weary with so much insipidity." Moreover, Adams wrote to his wife that he was thankful that Burgoyne had surrendered to the northern instead of to

the southern part of the army, for "if it had been accomplished by the southern army, its commander would have been deified." This national deification of Washington, as well as his alleged over-cautious military tactics, became more and more a veritable bugbear to the imagination of his detractors. A reviling band of critics arose, of greater and lesser men, who grew bolder as his ultimate success seemed farther away. By private and public speech, and particularly by bitter anonymous communications, these critics assailed not only the military ability but the patriotism of Washington. And not only Washington but the prominent generals of his army were thus unjustly and abusively attacked. Greene, Sullivan and Lord Stirling were in turn subjected to mean misrepresentations, and were, moreover, called by all sorts of slanderous names. Among the chief detractors were Benjamin Rush of Pennsylvania and James Lovell of Massachusetts. Indeed, Lovell went so far as to declare that Washington's only notion of strategy was to collect masses of troops for the sole purpose seemingly of wearing out stockings, shoes and breeches.

In fact, all kinds of anonymous and public correspondence were circulated with respect to Washington and his military tactics. Many unjust and unfriendly letters were received by prominent delegates in Congress, one of which, anonymously addressed to Patrick Henry, was written by Dr. Benjamin Rush. An extract from this letter reads: "We have wisdom, virtue and strength enough to save us, if they could be called into action. The northern army has shown us what Americans are capable of doing with a general at their head. The spirit of the southern army is in no way inferior to the spirit of the northern. A Gates, a Lee, or a Conway would in a few weeks render them an irresistible body of men. Some of the contents of this letter ought to be made public, in order, to awaken, enlighten, and alarm, our country."

Another such anonymous letter, addressed to Henry Laurens, then president of the Continental Congress, contained this passage: "It is a very great reproach to America to say there is only one general in it. The great success to the northward was owing to a change of commanders; and the southern army would have been alike successful if a similar change had taken place. The people of America have been guilty of idolatry by making a man their God, and the God of heaven and earth will convince them by woful experience that he is only a man; for no good can be expected from our army until Baal and his worshippers are banished from camp."

Such quotations from the anonymous correspondence of that time illustrate somewhat the ill-concealed secret and public discontent that gnawed at the hearts of not a few of Washington's countrymen. But as though such unjust and bitter censure were not enough with which to harass and hamper him amidst reverses and hardships, there now appeared more and more publicly in evidence a hitherto carefully hidden plot or intrigue which was planned and conducted by men of cunning ability and was supported more or less warmly by many others who possessed in a greater or lesser degree the confidence and respect of their fellow-citizens.

All great men occupying high national stations are occasionally called upon to perform actions or to express opinions which make for them public and private enemies; Washington was no exception to this rule. It was his life-long habit to speak his mind without evasion on occasions when his sense of duty bade him; and he did so at the time that Congress appointed a certain Thomas Conway to the rank of major-general over the heads of some of the native-born officers. Naturally these felt that the appointment of this foreigner was an act of injustice to them, and Washington heartily agreed with them. In a letter to Richard Henry Lee, then in Congress he wrote that "Colonel Conway's merits, and his importance in this army, exist more in his own imagination than in reality; for it is a maxim with him to leave no service of his own untold, nor to want anything which is to be obtained by importunity."

This very caustic letter was either read by Conway or its contents were reported to him. At any rate, it served to make him a bitter enemy. Thomas Conway was a sort of soldier of fortune. Born in Ireland, February 27, 1733, he received his military training in France, where he also received his army rank. On a recommendation from Silas Deane, he had left France and joined the American army. That he did not make a favorable impression on some of the American officers is very evident from Washington's letter, and from the fact that Greene and others described him as "worthless". Nevertheless, despite the protests of some of them and the further declaration of Washington that Conway's promotion would be "a real act of injustice" likely to "incur a train of irremediable evils", Congress persisted in its action of appointing him a major-general in the army. In this course, Congress seems to have been encouraged by the fact that he was an officer of some thirty

years' standing in the French army, and that men of public position and influence, such as Sullivan, favored his promotion to the office of Inspector-General, with the rank of Major-General. Accordingly, with the recommendation of the Board of War, Congress appointed him a Major-General and at the same time made his office wholly independent of the authority of Washington.

In fact, it is now clear that Washington's position was not only threatened by Howe and his army, but by the influential intrigue within his own army. Added to these vexations, there was the misery and privation at Valley Forge, as well as the feeling of general depression and gloom all over the country. "It never rains but it pours," phrase that is, moreover, too true at certain times. No one but a sincere patriot, no one but a man of most lofty ideals, of invincible courage, and superb physique, could have withstood and survived the combined alliance of Valley Forge, the Conway Cabal, the British army, and the popular unrest and discontent of 1777 and 1778.

Washington was beyond all question in a direful plight, surrounded by several potent influences that constantly harassed and thwarted him. The chief and central faction of these hostile influences was the so-called Conway Cabal, the principal leaders of which were Conway, Mifflin, and Lovell. This cabal was, primarily, devoted to the removal of Washington from the command of the American army, and to the appointment of Gates in his place. But, on the part of Conway, at least, there were ambitious and selfish personal designs; and it is certain that Gates was largely influenced in joining the plot because of his natural vanity and desire for position and rank. Whatever personal reasons these and other men had for promoting such a plot, the plot itself succeeded for a time almost unopposed. Conway was a most dangerous schemer, Mifflin a man of marked ability, and Lovell could be relied upon for outspoken and aggressive action. As long as Congress had direct oversight of revolutionary military affairs, through a committee of its own members, Conway and his fellow-conspirators could accomplish little more than anonymous agitation; but in November, 1777, the superintendence of such affairs was invested in a Board of War, constituted of persons not members of Congress, and decidedly antagonist to Washington.

The Board consisted of five members; Gates, Mifflin, Pickering, Joseph Trumbull, and Richard Peters. Mifflin presided at first; and

it was his favorable report that finally influenced Congress to appoint Conway to the office of Inspector-General. On the twenty-seventh of November, Mifflin withdrew from the presidency, and Gates took his place. The appointment of Gates to the presidency of this Board, and the promotion of Conway, shortly before the time that Washington and his army began their miserable camp-life of Valley Forge, marked the first real public development of the intrigue to oust the American leader from his command.

And every private and public means, underhand or overhand, were employed by the members of the Cabal in strenuous endeavor to accomplish their purpose. Insults were heaped upon him, obstacles were frequently placed in his way to diminish the chances of military success. He was denied reinforcements at the proper times; and an excellent system of transport and commissariat which he had slowly constructed, was broken up. Moreover, the people around him, the inhabitants of Pennsylvania, were constantly chafed by the recollection that their chief city was in the hands of the enemy. Indeed, even Congress was in the habit of suggesting to him that he should attempt with a few thousand insufficiently equipped, weakened and half-starved men to attack about three times their number of well-nourished veterans, supported moreover by a large fleet. This would, of course, have been immediate military suicide; but the members of the Cabal, and perhaps others not associated with them, through malice or ignorance, were earnestly hoping that he would attempt to drive the British out of Philadelphia. Fortunately, however, the patriotic cause possessed a general, and indeed several officers, who discerned the madness and folly of such an attempt.

The leaders of the Cabal, remained in hopes that Washington would at last lose his patience and commit some foolhardy act. But he was too sagacious to endanger the desperate cause of the colonies by any rash military move. Even the ignorant slight of Gates, after the surrender of Burgoyne, when he neglected to notify Washington of this great event, had not disturbed the personal equipoise of the American commander. Nor did a second insulting slight, the appointment of Lafayette to the independent command of the northern army, with Conway as his lieutenant, at all disturb the noble serenity of Washington.

But already Washington had badly disconcerted his adversaries. As is often the case, this discomfiture was brought about through a let-

ter; but, as is not often the case, a report concerning the contents of this letter, proved the ultimate undoing of his chief antagonist—Conway. Conway and his fellows had selected Gates as the man best fitted to succeed Washington; for Gates, by a single victory that was not earned by himself, had become famous and popular throughout the country. General Schuyler, who had prepared the way for the victory at Saratoga, was by intrigue removed at the last moment from his command, and Gates took his place. On October 7, 1777, there occurred the second battle of Bemis's Heights or, as it is better known, the battle of Saratoga, in which the British were defeated, owing chiefly to the daring and efforts of Arnold and Morgan. Ten days later, on October 17, finding that he was surrounded and that his retreat was not possible, Burgoyne surrendered himself and his army.

This victory, coming as it did unexpectedly and amid such dearth of success, created for Gates a reputation which he did not deserve; and this reputation was carefully and skillfully augmented by the laudation and unstinted praise of the Cabal. The success of Gates was magnified everywhere, while Trenton and Princeton were for a time almost in danger of oblivion. He was declared to be the great general of the war, and the military record of Washington was ignored or condemned. As we have seen, Gates, who really possessed mediocre ability as a general, was appointed to preside over the Board of War; and, for a while, it must have looked to Conway as though he would be able finally to replace Washington with the "conqueror of Burgoyne." Washington's soldiers and the common people of the colonies, however, believed firmly in his skill and patriotism; and it is very doubtful whether he could, even under more adverse circumstances, have been deposed by Gates. But Conway, in the meantime, had written a letter to Gates, one passage from which presently put an end both to his own ambition and to that of his friend.

It so happened that Gates had entrusted the dispatches which conveyed the report of Burgoyne's surrender, to his aid-de-camp, James Wilkinson. On his way to the home of Congress at York, Pennsylvania, Wilkinson appears to have proceeded leisurely, for it took him nearly three weeks to make what should have been a five-day trip. On reaching Reading, he stopped for the night at the headquarters of Lord Stirling, and while there began to indulge in his habitual loquaciousness. The hospitable officers saw to it that plenty of drink was provided; and,

under its influence, their guest became more and more communicative. He even revealed the fact that the Board of War was about to supersede Washington by Gates; and he also declared that he himself had read a letter from Conway to Gates, a passage from which said: "Heaven has been determined to save your country, or a weak general and bad counsellors would have ruined it." This passage was remembered by Stirling's adjutant, McWilliams, who at once reported it to the general himself, who in turn informed Washington. Washington waited his time, and at the proper moment sent the following note to General Gates:

"Sir:

A letter, which I received last night, contained the following paragraph:

'In a letter from General Conway to General Gates he says, Heaven has been determined to save your country, or a weak general and bad counsellors would have ruined it!

I am, Sir, your humble servant,

George Washington."

This epistolary bombshell certainly caused a disconcerting explosion in the camp of the Cabal. As would be expected, Conway maintained a discreet silence; but when the news of the letter reached Mifflin he immediately wrote a note to Gates. In fact, all the intriguers were disturbed and alarmed; and the "conqueror of Burgoyne" was, moreover, very much surprised and puzzled. He could not at all understand how the contents of Conway's letter could have leaked out. After some four days of earnest cogitation it occurred to Gates that perhaps Hamilton, had purloined and read the letter, and so sure was he that this was so that he sat down and wrote Washington a long, blustering epistle, in which he said that it had been reported to him that some of Conway's confidential letters to himself had fallen into the commander's hands, that such letters could only have been copied by stealth, and he called upon Washington to assist him in catching the thief who had robbed his portfolio.

This must have been very amusing to Washington, and particularly pleasing, for Gates did not stop with a personal letter to him; but sent a duplicate of the letter to the president of Congress. To this letter Washington soon replied, by an unsealed letter through Congress, in which he said: "Your letter came to my hand a few days ago, and, to

my great surprise, informed me that a copy of it had been sent to Congress, for what reason I find myself unable to account; but as some end was doubtless intended to be answered by it, I am laid under the disagreeable necessity of returning my answer through the same channel, lest any member of that honorable body should harbor an unfavorable suspicion of my having practiced some indirect means to come to the contents of the confidential letters between you and General Conway." Following this introduction, Washington went on to describe in detail how he had obtained his information from one of Lord Stirling's staff-officers, who in turn had received his information from Gates's own aide-de-camp.

This was a veritable thunderbolt to poor Gates, who thereupon returned Washington a rather humble answer, excusing himself and Conway, and laying both blame and contempt upon Wilkinson, and further saying that he was not very intimate with Conway, declaring that he had never received but a single letter from him, and that this letter had contained no such paragraph as that of which Washington had been informed. To this second letter of Gates, the American commander returned an exceedingly cold reply. Wilkinson, however, who had caused all this trouble for the Cabal, became angry when he found out what Gates had written about him, and challenged Gates. The meeting was arranged to be held behind the Episcopal church at York; but Gates backed down at the last moment, denying that he had written or made any objectionable remarks about Wilkinson. The duel was not fought; but Wilkinson wrote to Congress, accusing Gates of falsehood and treachery, and also resigning his position as secretary to the Board of War.

By this time the whole country began to awaken to the peril of Conway's Cabal, and what would become of the Declaration were Gates to supersede Washington and Conway's influence to become predominant. A great and threatening storm of indignation arose not only in the army but among the people. There was no support at all for any commander-in-chief other than Washington, either in the state legislatures or in the public mind; and perceiving how unpopular the Cabal had become, most of those who had been active in it, made haste to deny any participation in the plot. Indeed, the expression "Conway's Cabal" soon became a term of ridicule and a byword. The undeserved popularity of Gates rapidly deserted him; and, later, in the battle of

Camden, he showed how much real military "genius" he possessed by being badly defeated. Soon afterwards he was suspended from duty; but it should be added that he was reinstated in his command in 1782.

Both Gates and Mifflin soon ceased to act as members of the Board of War, their places on the Board being presently taken by two members of Congress, appointed to serve for short periods. As for Gates's friend and co-conspirator, Conway, he was ordered during the spring of 1778 to take a post in the northern department; but not liking the position he sent a rather petulant letter to Congress, in which he complained of being unfairly treated and offered his resignation. Much to his surprise, it was accepted; and despite his earnest attempts Congress would not reconsider the vote. As a result he loitered for a while idly about, and fought a duel with Cadwalader, who had fought under Washington. Conway received a bullet through his face. Believing himself on his death-bed, he wrote a letter to Washington, assuring him of his "sincere grief" for his past conduct. He also wrote: "My career will soon be over; therefore justice and truth prompt me to declare my last sentiments. You are in my eyes the great and good man. May you long enjoy the love, veneration and esteem of the States, whose liberties you have asserted by your virtues!" Nevertheless, Conway recovered; but he passed forever from American history. He returned to France, and was appointed the governor of the French settlements in Hindostan. In 1793 he was in charge of the Royalist army in the south of France; but was driven away from that country, and finally died an exile in 1800.

Thus began and ended the famous Conway Cabal. Thus rose and fell its two adventurous leaders—Conway and Gates. Out of that "winter of discontent", out of the cold and misery of Valley Forge, out of the bitter intrigue of the Cabal, Washington unflinchingly fought his way to the triumph of Yorktown. The cold and misery of Valley Forge, the bitter intrigue of the Cabal, the triumph of Yorktown lie today far behind us in the historic past. Conway, Gates, and their supporters are now merely memories of this nation's first war; merely names that might have shone brightly had their possessors forgotten self in the love of freedom and patriotism. Washington and his loyal supporters are no more; their bones are scattered throughout the states and territories of this great Republic. What the history and progress of this nation would have been, had the Conway Cabal fully succeeded

is indeed a matter of simple speculation. Whether or not Great Britain would have finally subjugated this people, assisted by the direful disaster of the success of such an intrigue, is likewise a matter of pure speculation. But Washington overcame the malignity of the Cabal, just as he overcame the many other seemingly insurmountable difficulties of that patriotic war. The Conway Cabal threatened for a while not the fortunes and career of Washington, but the fortunes and career of our future great Nation. It failed because it might have been a world-catastrophe, had it succeeded. To us of this twentieth century, it may perhaps look like a small matter; but we should remember that from such comparatively small occurrences, the whole complexion of history has been changed. The Conway Cabal was certainly sufficiently important and threatening to have altered incalculably the entire future history of our American people.

CHARLES NEVERS HOLMES.

BOSTON.



ELIZA LESLIE

LESLIE, the little station on the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad midway between Baltimore and Philadelphia, perpetuates the name of an old and distinguished Maryland family, and a lady who in her day was one of our best-known writers.

In the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia, may be seen a portrait of Eliza Leslie, by Sully. The February —1911— number of the *Woman's Home Companion* contained a copy of this portrait, in connection with an article on American Portrait Painters by J. Nilsen Laurvik.

Robert Leslie, a Scotch emigrant and the great grandfather of Eliza Leslie, came to Maryland in the early history of the colony, in the opening years of the eighteenth century. He settled on the North East River, near the glen of Gilpin's Falls, and opposite the isolated hill known as Malden's Mountain, a most charming and picturesque spot. His son, William Leslie, married Christina Hall of Chester County, Pa. Their only surviving children were Robert and Margaret Leslie. Of these, Robert at an early age evinced remarkable mechanical genius. After his marriage to Lydia Baker (the daughter of a prosperous farmer of Cecil County) he settled in Elkton, Maryland, as a clock and watch-maker. In 1786 he removed to Philadelphia, then the seat of government, and here among his personal friends were Washington, Franklin and Jefferson. Upon the recommendation of the latter he was elected a member of the American Philosophical Society.

His business became prosperous, and he determined to extend it by taking a partner in Philadelphia, and by going himself to London to make the necessary purchases for his establishment. He was accompanied by his wife and three little daughters, the eldest of whom was Eliza. According to her own memoranda, Eliza Leslie lived in London six and a half years. They had a governess in the house, but she was taught penmanship and drawing by her father. She had also a French and music master. In London her two brothers were born, Charles Robert and Thomas Jefferson Leslie.

The death of Robert Leslie's partner at Philadelphia compelled him to return to America, where his own health failing, he died after an

illness of one week, leaving his family in very moderate circumstances. Mrs. Leslie was obliged to open a boarding-house, and Eliza taught drawing to aid in the support of the family. A letter from Mrs. Leslie to her sister, Mrs. Daniel Macauley, under date of Oct. 16, 1821, gives a graphic picture of their life at this time.

"My business is now almost as bad as it can possibly be. The price of boarding has now fallen so low that nothing is to be made by it.

I could not get on at all if it were not for the assistance I receive from my son Tom, now living in Washington.

My daughters Eliza and Ann work at colouring maps and painting feather fans, but even that kind of work is hard to get, and very unprofitable compared with what it used to be.

My son Charles is still in London, and will remain there some years longer. He is doing as well as any of the young painters, but London being such an expensive place to live, he finds it all he can do to support himself comfortably."

A later letter from Miss Eliza Leslie to her aunt says: "My brother Charles is succeeding very well in London as a painter, and has as much business now engaged as he can do in three years. For his last picture, which was a scene from *Don Quixote*, representing Sancho relating his story to the Duchess, he received eighteen hundred dollars." A later painting sold for five thousand dollars.

Tom Taylor (the biographer of Charles Robert Leslie, R. A.) says: "As an illustrator, and pictorial embodier of other men's conceptions, he ranks among the first—if not the very first—of English painters." His autobiography, edited by Tom Taylor, giving his correspondence with Washington Irving (an edition of whose works he illustrated), and relating his experiences with his brother painters, Allston, Turner, Constable and others, is as interesting as a romance. Ruskin, in his "Modern Painters," highly commends his work. Among his best pictures are *May Day* in the time of Queen Elizabeth (exhibited at the Philadelphia Centennial) and *Sir Roger de Coverly going to church*. Among his friends and patrons were Lord and Lady Holland and Lord Egremont. Petworth, the home of Lord Egremont, contains the finest collection of pictures in England. In 1826 Leslie and his family were invited to spend a month at Petworth, and from that time on they received a similar invitation regularly each year.

Thomas Jefferson Leslie, born in London, was educated at West Point, and was for many years paymaster in the United States Army. His daughter, Miss Gertrude Leslie, who resided at Lakewood, N. J., for many years, died in New York in March, 1908, the last member of the Leslie-Baker family this side the Atlantic. The head of the family is now Sir Bradford Leslie of London, son of Charles R. Leslie, R. A. He was knighted for services to the Queen. Among the many literary relics she possessed, was a letter from Miss Catharine Beecher to Eliza Leslie, asking that she use her influence with Mr. Godey to induce him to accept some of her sister Harriet's MSS. at least to give her the promise of a stated compensation for her work. This was perhaps twenty years before 'sister Harriet' attained to universal fame and independent means—as the author of "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

Martha Leslie, the youngest daughter of Robert Leslie, married Henry C. Carey, a book-seller of Philadelphia, and the most noted writer of his time on political economy. Mrs. Carey is thus described by her brother Charles: "In 1825 I received a visit from my third sister, Mrs. Henry Carey, her husband, and his sister Maria. I had not seen my sister for fourteen years, and was greatly struck by the uncommon sweetness of her face and manner. I had not when a boy thought her even pretty, but she now appeared to me beautiful. Her figure was slight and *petite*, her features not regular, and her complexion dark, though very clear. Her eyes were lovely, full and gray, with long black lashes. She had beautiful dimples, and at all times an expression of so much good sense, that I thought her one of the most charming women I had ever seen."

Eliza Leslie first came into notice as a writer through her *Cook-Book*, which today would be one of the "Six best sellers," for it passed through *fifty-six* editions. She edited several American Annuals, and for many years was a leading contributor to *Godey's Lady's Book*, which ranked among the first periodicals of its kind. Her reputation as a writer of fiction was established by her prize story "Mrs. Washington Potts," published by Mr. Godey. It is said that upon returning from a party, late at night, she threw the finished MS. in the grate, intending to burn it in the morning, but after reading it over once more she decided to send it to the committee of award.

In her portrait by Sully, she carries a red leather portfolio marked "Pencil Sketches." Under this title she issued, on one volume, a col-

lection of short stories. The *North American Review* for October, 1833, criticizes these tales as being written in a correct, easy and spirited style, the conversations being conducted with point and propriety, and adds, "In this particular Miss Leslie approaches more nearly to the models furnished by the great masters in the art of novel writing than any of her American predecessors." "Mrs. Washington Potts" is an excellent satire on the ambition of some families to gain the notice of those who are leaders in fashionable society.

Her last publication, in 1853, was the "Behavior Book." The "Scrap Book" for August, 1906, gives some extracts from this work, showing that while her stories do not rank as classics, her books on household topics still live. In this last book, which portrays good manners fifty years ago, she takes up a variety of subjects, shopping, traveling, deportment at an hotel, etc. Under the last heading she says:

"It is an affectation of ultra fashion to cut pie with a fork, and has a very awkward and inconvenient look. Cut it up with your knife and fork, then proceed to eat it with the fork in your right hand.

Ladies no longer eat salt fish at a public table. The odor of it is now considered extremely ungentle, and it is always very disagreeable to those who do not eat it. If you breakfast alone you can then indulge in it."

Miss Leslie resided for many years at the United States Hotel, Philadelphia, where she was a leading attraction to guests from all parts of the Union.

With naturally strong prejudices, and judged by the style of her social sketches, she might have been considered sarcastic in conversation, a person to be feared, but those who knew her well passed over these trifling errors in judgment.

She evinced warm affection for her relatives and friends, and almost Quixotic benevolence for the needy, upholding those who like herself had in early life struggled courageously with adverse fortune.

After a useful and honored life, she rests beneath the shadow of the cross in St. Peter's churchyard, in the city of her birth.

HELEN A. McCAULEY.

ELKTON, MD.

MINOR TOPICS

A REMARKABLE LETTER BY SECRETARY STANTON WRITTEN IN 1862

(Extracted and Verified from Official Records by James M. Swank)

The reader whose memory goes back to the early days of the Civil War will remember the reason given by General McClellan for the failure of the Peninsula campaign in 1862. He said that troops whose assistance he needed, under the command of General McDowell, were withheld from him. This reason was repeated in the House of Representatives in 1886 by General Joseph Wheeler, of Alabama, and in a way which gave great offense to the friends of Secretary Stanton, who died a few years after the close of the war. On June 8, 1886, Judge William D. Kelley, of Pennsylvania, replied to General Wheeler, producing and reading a letter which the Secretary had written on May 18, 1862, to an old and intimate personal friend, the late Rev. Heman Dyer, D.D., an Episcopal clergyman. The letter follows. We reproduce it here solely because it is an authentic and important part of the history of our civil war which has not been generally published, if published at all outside of the pages of official Government publications. (See the Congressional Record, 1st Session, 49th Congress, Volume 17, Part 5, Pages 5417-22.)

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 18, 1862.

My Dear Friend: Yours of the 10th is welcomed as an evidence of the continued regard of one whose esteem I have always been anxious to possess. I have been very well aware of the calumnies busily circulated against me in New York and elsewhere respecting my relations to General McClellan, but am compelled from public considerations to withhold the proofs that would stamp the falsehood of the accusations and the base motives of the accusers, who belong to two classes. First. Plunderers who have been driven from the Department when they were gorging millions. Second. Scheming politicians, whose designs are endangered by an earnest, resolute, and uncompromising prosecution of this war as a war against rebels and traitors. A brief statement of facts on official record, which I can make to you confidentially, will be sufficient to satisfy yourself that your confidence in me has not been misplaced.

First. When I entered the Cabinet I was and had been for months the sincere and devoted friend of General McClellan, and to support him, and so far as I might aid and assist him in bringing the war to a close, was a chief inducement for me to sacrifice my personal happiness to a sense of public duty. I had studied him earnestly with an anxious desire to discover the military and patriotic virtue that might save the country, and if in any degree disappointed I had hoped on and waited for time to develop.

I went into the Cabinet about the 20th of January. On the 27th the President made his Order No. 1, requiring the Army of the Potomac to move. It is not necessary, or perhaps proper, to state all the causes which led to that order, but it is enough to know that the Government was on the verge of bankruptcy, and at the rate of expenditure the armies must move or the Government perish. The 22d of February was the day fixed for movement, and when it arrived there was no more sign of movement on the Potomac than there had been for three months before. Many, very many, earnest conversations I had held with General McClellan, to impress him with the absolute necessity of active operations or that the Government would fail because of foreign intervention and enormous debt.

Between the 22d of February and the 8th of March the President had again interfered, and a movement on Winchester and to clear the blockade of the Potomac was promised, commenced, and abandoned. The circumstances can not yet be revealed. On the 8th of March the President again interfered, ordered the Army of the Potomac to be organized into army corps, and that operations should commence.

Two lines of operations were open—one moving directly on the enemy at Manassas and forcing him back on Richmond, beating and destroying him by superior force, and all the time keeping the Capital secure by lying between it and the enemy. This was the plan favored by the President. The other plan was to transfer the troops by water to some point on the lower Chesapeake, and thence advance on Richmond. This was General McClellan's plan. The President yielded his own views, although they were supported by some of the best military men in the country, and consented that the general should pursue his own plans. But by a written order he imposed the special condition that the army should not be removed without leaving a sufficient force in and around Washington to make the Capital perfectly secure against all danger, and that the force required should be determined by the judgment of all the commanders of the army corps.

In order to enable General McClellan to devote his whole energy to the movement of his own army (which was quite enough to tax the ability of the ablest commander in the world), he was relieved from the charge of the other military departments, it being supposed that the respective commanders were competent to direct the operations in their own departments. To enable General McClellan to transport his force every means and power of the Government were placed at his disposal and unsparingly used. When a large part of his force had been transferred to Fortress Monroe, and the whole of it about to go in a few days, information was given to me by various persons that there was great reason to fear that no adequate force had been left to defend the Capital in case of sudden attack; that the enemy might detach a large force and seize it at a time when it would be impossible for General McClellan to render any assistance. Serious alarm was expressed by many persons and many warnings given me which I could not neglect. I ordered a report of the force left to defend Washington. It was reported by the commander to be less than twenty thousand raw recruits, with not a single organized brigade. A dash like that made a short time before at Winchester would at any time take the Capital of the nation. The report of the force left to defend Washington and the order of the President were referred to Major General Hitchcock and Adjutant-General Thomas to report—

First. Whether the President's orders had been complied with; Second. Whether the force left to defend the city of Washington was sufficient.

They reported in the negative on both points. These reports were submitted to the President, who also consulted General Totten, General Taylor, General Meigs, and General Ripley. They agreed in the opinion that the Capital was not safe. The President then by written order directed me to retain one of the army corps for the defense of Washington, either Sumner's or McDowell's; as part of Sumner's corps had already embarked I directed McDowell to remain with his command. And the reason was approved by the President.

Down to this period there had never been a shadow of difference between General McClellan and myself. It is true that I thought his plan of operations objectionable, as the most expensive, the most hazardous, and most protracted that could have been chosen; but I was not a military man, and while he was in command I would not interfere with his

plan, and gave him every aid to execute it. But when the case had assumed the form it had done by his disregard of the President's orders, and by leaving the Capital exposed to seizure by the enemy, I was bound to act, even if I had not been required by the specific written order of the President. Will any man question that such was my duty?

When this order was communicated to General McClellan it of course provoked his wrath, and the wrath of his friends was directed upon me because I was the agent of its execution. If the force had gone forward as he had designed I believe that Washington would this day be in the hands of the rebels.

Down to this point, moreover, there had never been the slightest difference between the President and myself. But the entreaties of General McClellan induced the President to modify his order to the extent that Franklin's division (being part of McDowell's corps that had been retained) was detached and sent forward by boat to McClellan.

This was against my judgment, because I thought the whole force of McDowell should be kept together and sent forward by land on the shortest route to Richmond, thus aiding McClellan, and at the same time covering and protecting Washington by keeping between it and the enemy. In this operation Major-General Hitchcock, General Meigs, and Adjutant-General Thomas agreed; but the President was so anxious that General McClellan should have no cause of complaint that he ordered the force to be sent by water, although that route was then threatened by the *Merrimac*. I yielded my opinion to the President's order; but between him and me there has never been the slightest shadow since I entered the Cabinet, and except the retention of the force under McDowell by the President's orders, for the reasons mentioned, General McClellan has never made a request or expressed a wish that has not been promptly complied with, if in the power of the Government. To me personally he has repeatedly expressed his confidence and his thanks in the dispatches sent me.

Now, one word as to political motives. What motives can I have to thwart General McClellan? I am not now, never have been, and never will be a candidate for any office. I hold my present post at the request of the President, who knew me personally, but to whom I had not spoken from the 4th of March, 1861, until the day he handed me my commission. I knew that everything I cherish and hold dear would be sacrificed by accepting office. But I thought I might help to save the country, and for that I was willing to perish. If I wanted to be a politician or a candidate for any office would I stand between the Treasury and the robbers who are howling around me? Would I provoke and stand against the whole newspaper gang in the country, of every party, who to sell news would imperil a battle?

I was never taken for a fool, but there could be no greater madness than for a man to encounter what I do for anything else than motives that overleap time and look forward to eternity. I believe that God Almighty founded this Government, and for my act in the effort to maintain it I expect to stand before Him in judgment.

You will pardon this long explanation, which has been made to no one else. It is due to you, who were my friend when I was a poor boy at school, and had no claim upon your confidence or kindness. It can not be made public for obvious reasons. General McClellan is at the head of our chief army, he must have every confidence and support, and I am willing that the whole world should revile me rather than to diminish one grain of the strength needed to conquer the rebels. In a struggle like this justice or credit to individuals is but dust in the balance.

Desiring no office or honor, and anxious only for the peace and quiet of my home, I suffer no inconvenience beyond that which arises from the trouble and anxiety suffered by worthy friends like yourself, who are naturally disturbed by the clamors and calumnies of those whose interest or feelings are hostile to me.

The official records will at the proper time fully prove—First. That I have employed the whole power of the Government unsparingly to support General McClellan's operations. Second. That I have not interfered with or thwarted them in any particular. Third. That the force retained from his expedition was not needed and could not have been employed by him; that it was retained by express orders of the President upon military investigation and upon the best military advice in the country. That its retention was required to save the Capital from the danger to which it was exposed by a disregard of the President's positive order of the 6th of March. Fourth. That between the President and myself there has never been the slightest shadow of a difference upon any point, save the detachment of Franklin's force, and that was a point of no significance, but in which I was sustained by Generals Hitchcock, Meigs, Thomas, and Ripley, while the President yielded only to an anxious desire to avoid complaint, declaring at the same time his belief that the force was not needed by General McClellan.

You will, of course, regard this explanation as being in the strictest confidence, designed only for your information upon matters where you have expressed concern for me.

The confidence of yourself, and men like you, is a full equivalent for all the railing that has been or can be expended against me; and in the magnitude of the cause all merely individual questions are swallowed up.

I shall always rejoice to hear from you, and am as ever, Truly yours,

EDWIN M. STANTON.

After submitting the above letter from Secretary Stanton Judge Kelley produced and read a letter to President Lincoln from General Grant, written in May, 1864, two years after the Peninsular campaign and while Mr. Stanton was still Secretary of War. This letter to Mr. Lincoln, from the greatest of all our Union generals, amply and conclusively corroborates the plain inference from every line of Secretary Stanton's letter to Dr. Dyer that he had rendered and would continue to render to every commanding officer in the field every assistance that was in his power to give. Here is General Grant's letter to President Lincoln:

HEADQUARTERS ARMIES UNITED STATES,

Culpeper Court House, Va., May 1, 1864.

The President: Your very kind letter of yesterday is just received. The confidence you express for the future and satisfaction for the past in my military administration is acknowledged with pride. It shall be my earnest endeavor that you and the country shall not be disappointed.

From my first entrance into the volunteer service of the country to the present day I have never had cause of complaint, have never expressed or implied a complaint against the Administration or the Secretary of War for throwing any embarrassment in the way of my vigorously prosecuting what appeared to be my duty. Indeed, since the promotion which placed me in command of all the armies, and in view of the great responsibility and importance of success, I have been astonished at the readiness with which everything asked for has been yielded, without even an explanation being asked. Should my success be less than I desire and expect the least I can say is the fault is not with you.

Very truly, your obedient servant,

U. S. GRANT, *Lieutenant-General.*

Secretary Stanton's circumstantial and really pathetic letter to his old friend Dr. Dyer should forever set at rest all criticism of his treatment of General McClellan in connection with the latter's unfortunate Peninsula campaign. Such withholding of support from General McClellan as occurred in that movement against the enemy was ordered by President Lincoln and not by Secretary Stanton, and for what he did in this matter Mr. Lincoln assigned very good reasons. In presenting the Stanton letter to Dr. Dyer Judge Kelley, after some preliminary remarks, which we need not quote, said:

Mr. Speaker, I am not as young or as strong as I was when, at his request, it was my habit when in Washington to see Edwin M. Stanton every day before repairing to my committee-room or to the floor of this House. His invitation I still have and cherish, and God knows how faithfully I gave him the opportunity every morning of making any communication to me or imposing upon me any duty for the performance of which he deemed me specially fitted. For him, the statesman I honored and the friend I loved, I have nothing more to say at this time.

PHILADELPHIA.

JAMES M. SWANK.

HARRIET TUBMAN

No one knows exactly when Harriet Ross was born, but it was on the eastern shore of Maryland and not much less than a hundred years ago. She knows that her mother's mother was brought in a slave ship from Africa, that her mother was the daughter of a white man, an American, and her father a full-blooded Negro.

Harriet was not large, but she was very strong. The most strenuous slave labor was demanded of her; summer and winter she drove oxcarts; she ploughed; with her father she cut timber and drew heavy logs like a patient mule. About the year 1844 she was married to a freedman named Tubman. He proved unworthy and deserted her. She determined to try to escape from slavery, and induced her two brothers to go with her. The three started together, but the brothers soon became frightened and turned back. Harriet went on alone. All through the night she walked and ran alone. When she reached a place of safety it was morning. She says: "I looked at my hands to see if I was the same person now I was free—there was such a glory over everything, the sun came like gold through the trees and over the fields, and I felt like I was in heaven!" Not one to enjoy heaven alone was that generous heart. Nineteen times did she return to the land of slavery,

and each time brought away to Canada groups of men, women and children, her parents and brothers among them, about three hundred in all. A prize of \$40,000 was offered for her capture, but Harriet was never caught. She delights to recall the fact that on all those long and perilous journeys on the "Underground Railroad" she never lost a passenger! Her belief that she was and is sustained and guided by "de sperit of de Lord" is absolute. Governor Andrew of Massachusetts appointed her scout and nurse during the war. She is now receiving a pension.

One of the most important episodes in which Harriet took a leading part and proved the saving factor was Colonel Montgomerie's exploit on the Combahee River. General Hunter secured Harriet's assistance for the great undertaking. The plan was to send several gunboats and a few men up the river, in an attempt to collect the slaves living near the shores and carry them down to Beaufort, within the Union lines. It is worth a day's journey to hear Harriet herself describe the vivid scene—throng of hesitating refugees, a motley crowd, men, women, children, babies—"Pears like I nebber see so many twins in my life"—and pigs and chickens, and such domestic necessities as could be "toted" along. The slave-drivers had used their whips in vain to get the poor refugees back to their quarters, and yet the blacks were almost as much in dread of the stranger soldiers. How deal with this turbulent mass of humanity? The colonel realized the danger of delay, and calling Harriet to the upper deck in a voice of command said: "Moses, you'll have to give 'em a song!" Then the power of the woman poured forth—Harriet lifted up a voice full of emotional fervor in verse after verse of prophetic promise. She improvised both words and melody:

Of all the whole creation in the East or in the West
The glorious Yankee nation is the greatest and the best!
Come along! Come along! Don't be alarm,
Uncle Sam's rich enough to give us all a farm!

Come along! Come along! Don't be a fool,
Uncle Sam's rich enough to send us all to school! etc., etc.

As she chanted to refrain "Come along! Come along!" she raised her long arms with an imperious gesture impossible to resist. The crowd responded with shouts of "Glory! Glory!" The victory was won—about eight hundred souls eagerly scrambled on board the gunboats and were transported to freedom.

Among the many men of note who trusted and encouraged the intrepid little woman were Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison, Thomas Garrett, William H. Seward, Emerson, Alcott, Dr. Howe and Gerrit Smith. Frederick Douglass wrote of her, "Excepting John Brown, I know no one who has encountered more perils and hardships to serve our enslaved people." John Brown said, "Mr. Phillips, I bring you one of the best and bravest persons on this continent, 'General Tubman,' as we call her." He also said, "She is the most of a man, naturally, that I ever met with." This war-time general now speaks with tender reverence—"John Brown, my dearest friend"—and she whom he called "the most of a man" is also more of a mother than most women. She founded and maintains a home for colored men and women. She "dwells in the midst of them, singing."

ANNE FITZHUGH MILLER.

American Magazine.

A CENTURY AGO

The world resounded with the noise of war in 1812. To this clangor the United States itself contributed. Our second war with Great Britain was formally declared June 18. Our first important victory on the sea, the capture of the *Guerrière* by the *Constitution*, came on Aug. 19. Decatur in the *United States* made prize of the *Macedonian*, Oct. 25. The second victory of the *Constitution*, that over the *Java*, was achieved Dec. 29. These were proud dates to Americans and humiliating to Britons. Britannia had so long ruled the waves unchallenged that the prowess of our little navy, a few frigates commanded by young men who were prime seamen with minds open to the newest ideas in gunnery, occasioned mortification out of all proportion to the material losses sustained. Well it was for American pride that the navy did so nobly, for on land we were but tyros as yet. Our hastily improvised army, was commanded by officers who had been in their prime thirty years before and had learned nothing in the interval. The swarms of militia with which we endeavored to strengthen our thin regular lines but burdened our movements. The surrender of Detroit, Aug. 16, to a British and Indian force, not superior to the defending army, was a bitter reminder to Americans of the policy of trusting an old general like

Hull to carry on war vigorously simply because as a young officer, a generation earlier, he had made a creditable personal record under Washington. The year 1812 closed with Americans realizing that they must summon up all their energies and discard their old prejudices against professional soldiers, if they were to make head against the power of Britain, much more conquer Canada. Conquer Canada we did not, and that we did win victories on land was due to the appearance of a school of young officers, Scott and his companions, whose advent to authority came too late to do more than give us some redeeming chapters to our records, and to the energy and intuitive generalship of Jackson. Our forefathers had to buoy up their spirits with reflections on the justice of their cause. Its justice is indisputable. The contest has been called our "second war for independence." We certainly did compel Great Britain to treat us as a nation worthy of consideration, not one to be snubbed with impunity, or to be oppressed at will. The issues which precipitated the war were ignored in the treaty of peace. Nevertheless the United States won what it contended for. Great Britain tacitly abandoned the right of search and impressment and the United States was not the only nation that profited by the abandonment. The war was to the United States the painful apprenticeship to becoming a Power.

E. W. H.

Transcript, Boston.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES AND QUERIES

INTERNACIONA NOTARO E QUESTIONARO

New York City, U. S. A.

Vol. I.

April, 1913.

No. 4.

Subscription:
Postpaid, in U. S. and Canada,
\$2.25 per year.
Postpaid, in other countries,
\$2.50 per year

Abono:
Afrankite, en Usono e Kanado,
Fr. 11.50 yare.
Afrankite, en alia landi,
Fr. 12.50 yare.

Editor: EUGENE F. McPIKE
135 Park Row
Chicago, Ill., U. S. A.

Redaktero: EUGENE F. McPIKE
135 Park Row,
Chicago, Ill., U. S. A.

ORDER OF CONTENTS

NOTICE

INTERCOMMUNICATION EIGHTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF STUDENTS

- 020. Book-plates.
- 150. Child Psychology.
- 310. Statistics.
- 337. Commercial Reciprocity.
- 350. Public Utilities.
- 370. Education.
- 408-9. International Language.
- 537. Electricity.
- 591. Flight (of birds).
- 627. Maritime Construction.
- 630. Agriculture.
- 655. Authors and Publishers.
- 659. Advertising.
- 900. History.
- 920. Genealogy.

ORDINO DI KONTENAJO

A VISO

INTERKOMUNIKADO OKESMA INTERNACIONA KONGRESO DI STUDETI

- 020. Libral Aferi.
- 150. Psikologio.
- 310. Statistiko.
- 337. Komerco.
- 350. Publik Uzeblaji.
- 370. Edukado.
- 408-9. Internaciona Linguo.
- 537. Elektriiko.
- 591. Flugo.
- 627. Aquala Konstrukto.
- 630. Agrokulturo.
- 655. Aŭtoroj kaj Redaktistoj.
- 659. Reklamarado.
- 900. Historio.
- 920. Genealogio.

NOTICE

Correspondents will please write on only one side of paper and use a separate sheet for each subject. All communications must be signed, with address, not necessarily for publication, but as evidence of good faith. Each separate query should be accompanied by an addressed and stamped envelope. The editor does not assume any responsibility for the correctness of replies sent by contributors. Send all communications to the editor.

EUGENE F. McPIKE
135 Park Row, CHICAGO, Ill., U. S. A.

AVISO

Korespondantoj volonte skribu sur nur unu latro de la papero, ed uzas aparta folio por omna singla temo. Omna komunikadoj devas esti subskribata, kun adreso, ne necese por imprimi, ma nur kom garantio di bona fido. Omna singla questiono devas esti akompanata da adresita kuverto, e respondokuponon. La Redaktero ne asumus irga respondeco por la respondi sendita da korespondantoj. Turnes sempre la Redaktero.

EUGENE F. McPIKE
135 Park Row, CHICAGO, Ill., U. S. A.

EIGHTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF STUDENTS

(88) This notable gathering which we mentioned in our March issue, will occur in Ithaca, New York, August 29th to September 13th, under the auspices of the Cornell Cosmopolitan Club. Students from all parts of the world will attend.

The *practical objects* of the Congress will be divided into two parts of which the first is:

To devise and create means by which closer international contact, mutual understanding, and friendship between students of all nations may be produced.

Among the means the following will be especially considered:

I. *Congress.* A series of international student congresses to be held biennially in different countries, will be planned. Besides these student congresses embracing the world, efforts will be made to encourage congresses of smaller groups of students, as Pan-American Congresses, European Congresses, etc.

II. *Correspondence.* Means will be provided for placing students of political economy, languages, theology, medicine, engineering, etc., in the different countries, in correspondence with students of similar subjects in other countries, in order that they may have a better knowledge of the conditions and methods in lands other than their own. The international interchange of student publications will be facilitated and foreign correspondents will be secured for students' magazines which desire them.

III. *Hospitality.* The Congress will endeavor to devise means for assisting in the organization of international student visits and study-tours of student organizations or of individual students; for furnishing information, advice, and assistance to students wishing to study in a

foreign university, and to aid foreign students in making their period of study abroad as fruitful and suggestive as possible.

In addition, the most effective form of organization for the future work of the International Federation of Students will be decided upon, and projects will be considered for an International Bureau of Students and an International Student Magazine to aid in the realization of the above stated objects.

The second practical object of the Congress is:

To consider problems common to the students of all nations, in order that the experiences gained and the progress made by the students of one country may be available for the students of other countries.

These problems may be divided four into classes:

I. *Economic problems*, including Student Co-operative Societies; the establishment of student financial bureaus for loans and financial aid to students in need; opportunities for employment; insurance against sickness; university and other scholarships and fellowships.

II. *Problems of Hygiene and Morals*: Student housing and food; athletics; medical examination and care; alcohol and tobacco; the social evil; sexual and other contagious diseases; student duels.

III. *Social Reform and Education*: Education and Citizenship; University Settlements; the part of the students in the abolition of illiteracy; hygienic education of the people; the education of the agricultural classes; ethical and religious student movements.

IV. *Student Government*: The relations of students and faculty; the honor system; student organizations and representation; student publications.

The mutual interest of the Delegates to the Congress, in many subjects of investigation will clearly demonstrate the great need of a common medium of intercommunication, such as the INTERNATIONAL NOTES AND QUERIES aims to be, and which it certainly can become if only given the necessary co-operation. The old London *Notes and Queries* announces that it has more than eleven hundred regular contributors. Is there not ample room for a general organ of similar purposes?

INTERCOMMUNICATION

(89) We are having what is, no doubt, the usual experience in starting a new project. Progress is slow and many who could easily assist by contributing useful material are seemingly reluctant to respond. Nevertheless, it is gratifying to report some signs of growing appreciation of the practical possibilities of an organ devoted entirely to the facilitation of intercommunication between its readers. The extension and development of our work, as well as its permanence, will depend largely upon the degree of co-operation afforded to us by those whom we aim to serve. We wish, therefore, to repeat most earnestly our invitations to contribute brief notes and queries.

O20. BOOK-PLATES

(90) Mr. A. Winthrop Pope, of Newton, Mass., collects book-plates and book-plate literature.

I50. CHILD PSYCHOLOGY

(91; 61) A competent authority replies that: "The best journal of child psychology published in the English language is the *Pedagogical Seminary*, issued by Clark University, Worcester, Mass."

(92) "Perhaps the most extraordinary infant prodigy on record was Christian Heinecker, born at Lubeck in 1721. At 10 months he could speak and repeat every word spoken to him, at 12 months he knew by heart a great portion of the Bible, at 3 years he spoke and read French and Latin as easily as his native tongue. In his fourth year he employed himself in the study of religion and church history, and his fame as a scholar spread so that the king of Denmark sent for him and was astonished at his learning. Just before he was 5, however, Heinecker fell sick and died."

(93) Is there in existence any work on the subject of precocity of children, from a modern psychological standpoint? What progress is being made by young Mr. Sidis in Harvard University?

B.

310. STATISTICS

(94) The U. S. Census Bureau is issuing separate bulletins for each state "in which are combined all the statistics for such state, wheth-

er relating to population, agriculture, manufactures, or mining, and whether for the state as a whole or for a county, city, or other civil division."

337. RECIPROCITY (COMMERCIAL)

(95) The U. S. Government has recently issued a work entitled "Reciprocity with Canada," a voluminous work in five volumes of nearly 6000 pages, in which are reproduced all the U. S. documents and some Canadian, relating to the agreements of 1854 and 1911.

350. PUBLIC UTILITIES

(96) Several bibliographies of Public utilities are found in *Special libraries*, the journal issued by the Special Libraries Association, beginning with 1910.

370. EDUCATION

(97) The *Volta Review* for May, 1912, contains a list of schools for the deaf in the U. S.

408.9. INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE

(98) The editor is receiving various inquiries from widely separated localities, about the auxiliary language ido in which there is a growing interest, owing to its great superiority over any purely artificial language.

537. ELECTRICITY

(99) The *Electrical World*, for Dec. 2, 1911, contains a list of electrical societies.

591. FLIGHT (OF BIRDS)

(100) Leonardo da Vinci made some interesting studies on the subject of flight. His work in this field was the subject of an illustrated article by Oswald Sirén, in *Nordisk Tidskrift*, for 1910, pages 342-361.

627. MARITIME CONSTRUCTION

(101) Mr. H. E. Hoferbsorn, librarian of the U. S. Engineer School, Washington Barracks, Washington, D. C., is compiling "a select bibliography relating to maritime constructions, more especially to Harbors, also the construction of Coast and beach protective structures, River bank protection in all its particulars and allied subjects."

630. AGRICULTURE

(102) "Marketing and Farm Credits" is the title of a new book published by Coöperating Farm Papers, 1913. It contains the proceedings of the First National Conference on Marketing and Farm Credits held in Chicago, April 8, 9 and 10, 1913.

655. AUTHORS AND PUBLISHERS

(103) There is a list of newspaper syndicates in "Profitable Authorship," by Edwin H. Hadlock; San Francisco, 1910, pages 79-80.

659. ADVERTISING

(104) *Advertising and Selling*, for March, 1913, contains an article about "Advertising among the Romans."

900. HISTORY

(105) The Historical Club of New Brunswick, N. J., has published an interesting pamphlet of one hundred pages relating to the charter of that city, granted December 30, 1730, which presents numerous facts and names of interest to the local historian.

929. GENEALOGY

(106) Numerous readers are studying the genealogy of American and British families. There is therefore an opportunity for co-operative researches with resultant economy to all concerned.

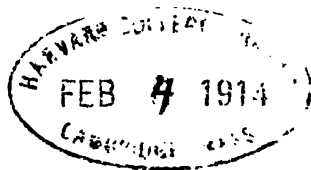
(107) BENEDICT.—Request is made for the address of any one interested in the history of the Benedict families in the U. S. and England.

(108) DUMONT.—A large collection of material on this family is available.

(109) WILEY.—Some readers are interested in the genealogy of the Wiley family and would be willing to exchange notes.

(110) YOUNG family in England,—Some notes are in existence.

VOL. XVI



No. 5

THE

MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

WITH

NOTES AND QUERIES

Americanus sum: Americani nihil a me alienum puto

MAY, 1913

WILLIAM ABBATT

10 LIBERTY ST., POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y.

AND

410 EAST 32D STREET, NEW YORK CITY

Published Monthly

\$5.00 a Year

50 Cents a Number

May 1964

Gratis.

THE MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

WITH NOTES AND QUERIES

Vol. XVI

MAY, 1913

No. 5

CONTENTS

JOHN ADAMS AND THE MITCHELL MAP	MOSES W. WARE	179
PASSAGE DOWN THE OHIO (<i>Poem</i>)	JAMES KIRKE PAULDING	186
TICONDEROGA RESTORED	R. M. C.	187
THE FITZ-GILBERT WATERS PAPERS	REV. ANSON TITUS	191
JONATHAN CARVER VINDICATED	PROF. C. W. ALVORD	196

MINOR TOPICS:

Daniel Webster's English	LANMAN CROSBY	200
Last Records of Lost Men		202
Anne Royall—Monument to		204
Anne Royall's Landmark		204

NOTES BY THE WAY:

Survivors of Death Valley		205
The Stars and Stripes		205
The Hollis Hall, Deerfield and Saratoga Pageants		207
A Jeff Davis Captor		208
Addis Albro Dead		208
A Remnant of the Acadians		209

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS:

Journal of the Quebec Attack. (Letter of James Knowles)		210
Letter of John Quincy Adams to Arnold Buffum		212

INTERNATIONAL NOTES AND QUERIES		213
---	--	-----

Entered as Second-class matter, September 11, 1913, at the Post Office at Poughkeepsie, N. Y. Act of Congress, March 3d, 1879.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC.,

of *The Magazine of History, with Notes and Queries*
(Insert title of publication.)

published *Monthly*
(State frequency of issue.)

at *New York, N. Y.*, required by the Act of August 24, 1912.
(Name of post office.)

NAME OF—	POST-OFFICE ADDRESS.
Editor, <i>William Abbatt</i> ,	<i>410 E. 32d Street, New York</i>
Managing Editor, <i>William Abbatt</i>	<i>410 E. 32d Street, New York</i>
Business Manager, <i>William Abbatt</i>	<i>410 E. 32d Street, New York</i>
Publisher, <i>William Abbatt</i>	<i>410 E. 32d Street, New York</i>

OWNERS:

..... *William Abbatt* *410 E. 32d Street, New York*

Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders, holding 1 per cent or more
of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities:

..... *None*

William Abbatt
(Signature of editor, publisher, business manager, and owner.)

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 19th day of *March*, 1913.

[Seal.]

Geo. DeWitt Weeks,
Notary Public, Kings County, No. 62,
With official file in New York County, No. 43
New York Register No. 4159
(My commission expires *March 30, 1914*.)

THE MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

WITH NOTES AND QUERIES

VOL. XVI

MAY, 1913

No. 5

JOHN ADAMS AND THE MITCHELL MAP

THE boundaries of the United States, as agreed upon by the commissioners¹ who negotiated the Treaty of 1783, were definitely marked by a red line on a map constantly referred to in diplomatic correspondence as the *Mitchell Map*.² The loss, or concealment, of the original map, shortly after the independence of the colonies was recognized, complicated in no small degree the settlement of our northern boundary line. This line was the subject of a continual controversy extending over a period of nearly sixty years, and was not definitely fixed until 1842, when Webster and Lord Ashburton ended the difficulty by mutual concessions agreed upon in the treaty of that year.

It is interesting to note what boundary disputes arose from the different interpretations of the Treaty of 1783, or perhaps, more especially in this article, it will be of interest to consider in this connection, those particular questions with which the name of John Adams is associated.

The first was in regard to the identity of the St. Croix River. By the second article of this treaty the north-eastern boundary of the United States was fixed by a line running up the river St. Croix to its source, and thence north to the northwest angle of Nova Scotia.³ On the Mitchell map of this period there are two large rivers designated as flowing into Passamaquoddy Bay; the eastern one is represented as the St. Croix,⁴ and the western as the Passamaquoddy. Now the British claimed that the last was the true St. Croix, the one "called the Schoodic by the Indians."⁵

1 The American Commissioners were, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, John Adams, and Henry Laurens.

2. This map is also referred as the "Oswald Map" because of the boundaries marked on it by Oswald and Strachey, the two English commissioners in the negotiations of 1782.

3. For the origin of this line see the Proclamation of 1763 and the Quebec Act of 1774. American Historical Leaflets, No. 5, p. 10; Statutes at large of Great Britain Vol. XIII, pp. 789-791.

4. Letter from J. Carleton to John Hancock, June 21, 1785, Diplo. Corresp. Vol. II, p. 432.

5. Adams said: "There is but one river upon that map which is marked with the name of St. Croix." (Letter to James Bowdoin, June 2, 1786; Adams' Works VIII, p. 398.)

Concerning this eastern boundary John Adams as a native of Massachusetts, of which Maine was then a part, had exerted, during the negotiations, a dominant influence in thwarting the British pretensions to the claim of the Penobscot and Kennebec Rivers as the eastern boundary of the United States. "I arrived", he said, "at a lucky moment for Massachusetts, because I brought with me all the essential documents relative to that object."¹ If the Mitchell map meant anything at all it certainly meant that the river intended by the negotiators of the Treaty of 1783, was the easternmost of the two emptying into Passamaquoddy Bay and designated, as the St. Croix. The commission appointed under Jay's treaty to settle this question decided in 1798, in favor of the western river, on the ground that Champlain had first called that stream the St. Croix, and the remains of a French settlement were found to substantiate this claim. The tract of land lying between the two rivers in dispute was estimated by Rufus Putnam, who was sent out in 1784 by Massachusetts to make surveys, to extend east and west nearly thirty-six miles, and according to a London map published immediately after 1783, at least one hundred twenty miles north and south, thus making an area of 4,220 square miles. It should be noted, however, that this estimate, if correct, was based on the assumption that a river east of the one designated as the St. Croix on Mitchell's map was the true St. Croix—this was known by the Indians as the Maggacadavic.²

There can be little doubt that the decision of the commissioners in 1798 was not in accordance with the intentions of those who negotiated the Treaty of 1783. In fact the St. John's River was at first fixed upon as the eastern limit of the United States, and was marked by Mr. Oswald on the Mitchell map by a red line. On the arrival of Mr. Strachey, another of the British negotiators, the line was changed and fixed at the St. Croix. On this point Adams testified that "it was Mitchell's map, upon which were marked out the whole of the boundary lines of the United States; and the river St. Croix, which we fixed on, was upon that map the nearest river to the St. John's, so that in all equity, good conscience, and honor, the river next to St. John's should be the boundary."³ Now it happens that the only considerable river, designated on the Mitchell maps of this period, which is next to the St. John's flows into

1. *Diplo. Corres.* Vol. VI, p. 437

2. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 439, 445; see map representing American claim in Gov. Sullivan's *History of Maine*; see also page 41.

3. *Diplo. Corres.* Vol. II, p. 439.

the Bay of Fundy. This river is not assigned any name. Yet even so, Adams's testimony is not without value, for assuming that he was mistaken in stating that the river next to the St. John's was the one agreed upon, the only possible river that could have been intended was the one to the west of this, designated on the Mitchell maps as the "St. Croix."¹ Hence the commissioners acting under Jay's treaty, in deciding upon a river still further to the west, rendered a decision unquestionably at variance with the true intention of the peace commissioners of 1783. This contention is further supported by the red line map (Mitchell's)² found among Gov. Jay's papers after his death, in which Oswald's line is marked in red following the course of the St. John's and Strachey's line following the St. Croix.

It is interesting to note that during the peace negotiations of 1782 Adams persistently tried to secure the St. John's River as the eastern limit of the American possessions. "I knew," he said, "that the French in former times had a practice of erecting a holy cross of wood upon every river they had a sight of, and that such crosses had been found on the banks of all rivers in that region, and that several rivers for this reason were equally entitled with any one to the appellation of St. Croix. St. John's River had a number of these crosses and was so probably meant in the grant of Sir Wm. Alexander and in the Charters of Massachusetts, as any other. I would accordingly have insisted on the St. John's as the limit."³ In this connection it is of the most suggestive importance to add that on most of the British maps published *after* 1783 all three rivers emptying into Passamaquoddy Bay were named St. Croix.⁴ Adams, however, was forced to give up his claim to the St. John's, for "no map or document called St. John's St. Croix, nor was there one paper to justify us in insisting upon it * * My colleagues thought they could not be justified in insisting on a boundary which no record or memorial supported, and I agreed with them."

It is worthy of notice that when complications with Great Britain arose respecting the violations of the Treaty of 1783, John Adams was

1. Adams said on this point: "In former controversies between Great Britain and France—it has often been contended—that the river St. Croix was a river still further to the eastward than the easternmost of those three which fall into Passamaquoddy Bay *but never once admitted to be a river more westerly.*" (Adams Works VIII, p. 392.)

2. Probably a facsimile of the original.

3. Adams Works VIII, p. 210, also Vol. I, p. 666.

4. Diplo. Corresp. Vol. II, pp. 445, 448.

sent to England to effect a settlement of the questions in dispute. On November 1st, 1785, John Jay, who was then Secretary for Foreign Affairs, wrote to Adams urging him to settle the dispute concerning the northeastern boundary.¹ The negotiations on this, as well as on the other more important questions were a failure, and Adams, seeing the futility of further deliberation, returned home.

The questions which Adams had not been able to settle remained in abeyance until Jay's mission in 1794. Respecting the eastern boundary an understanding with Lord Grenville was reached, and incorporated in the treaty of 1794, whereby the identity of the St. Croix was to be determined by a joint commission. This commission rendered its decision four years later, as hitherto noted, when the westernmost river or the Passamaquoddy, as designated on Mitchell's map, was fixed upon as the true St. Croix. Whether or not the original Mitchell map on which the commissioners of 1783 had marked the boundaries, was available at the time of Jay's negotiations is not clear. The presumption is, however, that it was kept in the background, as a brief consideration of Mr. Jay's negotiations with Lord Grenville respecting the northwestern boundary will show.

The maps of the region immediately west and south of Lake Superior were very inaccurate, yet by this time (1794) it was generally believed that a line drawn west from the Lake of the Woods, as provided for in the Treaty of 1783, would not meet the Mississippi River at all.² Where or what the true source of this river was, was not known. Lord Grenville proposed two plans for closing the boundary line in this region, and the map on which he outlined these plans was a Faden map published in 1793.³ The use of this map would seem to indicate that the Mitchell map, whether by accident or design, was at this time not available. The Faden map complicated the settlement of the boundary in question by assigning to three rivers the name of Mississippi in the same way that most British maps published after 1783 as already noted, complicated the determination of the eastern boundary by designating all rivers flowing into Passamaquoddy Bay as St. Croix. In view of these similarities it seems not unlikely that the British maps of this time were

1. *Diplo. Corresp.* Vol. II, p. 431.

2. Mr. Thomson of the North West Fur Co., fixed the source of the Mississippi in 1798 at 47° 38' north latitude so that by that time it was reasonably evident no westerly line from the Lake of the Woods, which was known to be above the 49th parallel, could strike the Mississippi. (*Foreign Relations*, I, p. 91.)

3. *Foreign Relations* I, p. 491.

drawn to favor English claims, or at least to obscure the situation so that compromise would be necessary, the benefits of which would naturally accrue to the stronger nation. This was exactly in line with the policy displayed by Napoleon, who suggested that it would be well to render the limits of Louisiana under the treaty of 1803 as indefinite as possible. A brief examination of the Faden map on which Grenville outlined his proposals shows that the Mississippi, or the stream designated by that name, had been ascended only as far up as 45° north latitude, or about one degree north of the falls of St. Anthony. On the same map is a stream connected with Marshy Lake near the forty-fifth parallel, and called "Mississippi by conjecture," and also another stream joined to White Bear Lake designated in the same way. The river referred to by Grenville in one of his plans as the "river of Red Lake" is represented on the same map as "Red Lake River" or "Lahontan's Mississippi." Jay's reply to Grenville and his refusal to fall in with the latter's proposals, showed that he had profited by his experience as one of the negotiators of the Treaty of 1783, when insufficient attention had been paid to questions relating to the geography of the country, and to the identity of the streams. "Inasmuch," he said, "as three different streams * * are conjectured to be the Mississippi, it is plain that so far from being certain how far that river runs to the north¹ we are really yet to learn where it does run."² This line between Lake Superior and the Lake of the Woods was not finally determined until 1842, and evidence is not lacking to show that the loss of the original Mitchell map or the convenient forgetfulness as to its existence, seriously hindered the settlement of this boundary as well as the eastern one.

Mr. Delafield, one of the agents of the United States under the sixth and seventh articles of the Treaty of Ghent for the determination of the Northwest boundary went to Quincy in the summer of 1823 to consult Mr. Adams for the purpose of gaining information concerning this boundary. The British commissioner, instead of adopting the Long Lake of Mitchell's map or the Grand Portage route from Lake Superior inland, which Mr. Delafield claimed had hitherto been conceded to be the true point of departure, had instructed his surveyors to explore the Fond du Lac route for a water communication toward the

1. The true source of the Mississippi was found by Capt. Willard Glazier on July 22, 1881, in the lake which bears his name. The source as established by Schoolcraft in 1832 was thus proved to be incorrect. (See "Headwaters of the Mississippi", by W. Glazier, Appendix.)

2. Foreign Relations, Vol. I, p. 491.

Lake of the Woods. Mr. Delafield, in the absence of the precise information which the original Mitchell map would have furnished, put in a claim to the Dog River communication with the Lake of the Woods, north of the Grand Portage route. His contention was that the Long Lake of this river was the Long Lake intended by the negotiators of the Treaty of 1783, and the purpose of his visit to Mr. Adams was to get the latter to uphold this claim. Mr. Adams's son, who was at that time President Monroe's Secretary of State, had furnished Mr. Delafield with the copy of Mitchell's map which the State Department possessed, and when the latter presented this map John Adams replied "It is useless, Mr. Delafield, to present the map, my eyesight would not enable me to designate the Long Lake; but I well remember that it was Mitchell's map upon which we traced the boundary line."¹

Referring to this incident in 1868 Mr. Delafield said, "Had the red line map at that time have been available, it would have prevented the British Commissioner from claiming the Fond du Lac route, and my counter-claim to the Dog River route. It might have prevented the disagreement between the commissioners under the sixth and seventh articles of the Treaty of Ghent, and would have spared the United States the subsequent compromise agreement in relation to the Grand Portage route entered into by Mr. Webster and Lord Ashburton * * *."

Whether or not the Mitchell map with the boundaries marked on it as described by Mr. Adams is in existence still remains a matter of doubt. Lord Fitzmaurice in his *Life of Shelburne*² refers to two maps in England one of which may be the original: (1) Mitchell's map (1753) marked by a clear broad line; and on that line is written, "Boundary as described by Mr. Oswald," In alluding to this map during the debates of 1843, Sir Robert Peel said, in speaking of the northern boundary of Maine, that this map did not support the English claim of the southern highlands (*Hansard's Debates*, Vol. 134, p. 1249); "(2) A map of 1755 by Mitchell in the Record Office and described in the catalogue as one used by Oswald." This is the map referred to by Lord Palmerston, 'as the red-lined map showing the boundary to be such as we claimed it' (*Hansard's Debates*, Vol. 134, p. 1194) and the duplicate of which he sarcastically suggested that Mr. Webster had in his possession, and

1. Delafield's Account of the Incident.

2. See Fitzmaurice's *Life of Shelburne*, Vol. III.

would not produce.¹ This map was found in 1841 by Mr. Lemon, but there is nothing on the map itself, nor does any documentary evidence exist, to support the statement in the catalogue which rests upon the *ipse dixit* of Mr. Lemon. The red line is very faint and the geographers who were consulted on the age of it were divided on their opinion."² The map has not got the rest of the boundary between the two countries indicated, and this fact is pretty complete evidence that this is not the original.

In all probability the first map mentioned by Lord Fitzmaurice is the original one as described by Mr. Adams. Had this map been available at all times during the various attempts to settle our northern boundary it is safe to say that an adjustment of the matter would have been greatly facilitated.³ While the geographical misconceptions prevalent in 1782 would necessarily, perhaps, have involved some compromises in later times, yet the merits of each side would not have been so obscured by the national jealousies and bitter partisanship which have so strongly marked the history of our northern border.

MOSES W. WARE.

PRINCETON, N. J.

1. See Webster's explanation in Gallatin's "Memoir on the Northeast Boundary."
2. Fitzmaurice's *Life of Shelburne*, Vol. III, Note.
3. If this the "incontestable Oswald Map" as Mr. Winsor believes, and on this point Lord Fitzmaurice does not definitely commit himself, it was on a Mitchell map of 1753 and not of 1755 that the boundaries of 1783 were laid down. The Oswald Map was not available when the Convention of 1827 was negotiated, for, the English and American commissioners agreed that a Mitchell map of 1755 should be used when the dispute in regard to the northern boundary of Maine was submitted to the King of The Netherlands for arbitration. This Map, as Mr. Winsor notes, was known to exist in 1834 and was in the British Museum at the time of the Webster-Ashburton negotiations, and its existence was conveniently ignored.

PASSAGE DOWN THE OHIO

AS down Ohio's ever ebbing tide,
Oarless and sailless silently they glide,
How still the scene, how lifeless yet how fair
Was the lone land that met the stranger there !
No smiling villages or curling smoke
The busy haunts of busy men bespoke;
No solitary hut the banks along
Sent forth blithe labour's homely, rustic song;
No urchin gambol'd on the smooth white sand,
Or hurled the skipping-stone with playful hand
While playmate dog plunged in the clear blue wave
And swam in vain the sinking prize to save.
Where now are seen along the river side
Young, busy towns, in buxom, painted pride,
And fleets of gliding boats with riches crown'd,
To distant Orleans or St. Louis bound,
Nothing appear'd but Nature unsubdued,
One endless, noiseless woodland solitude
Or boundless prairie, that aye seem'd to be
As level and as lifeless as the sea.
They seem'd to breathe in this wide world alone,
Heirs of the earth—the land was all their own !

'Twas evening now: the hour of toil was o'er,
Yet still they durst not seek the fearful shore
Lest watchful Indian crew should silent creep
And spring upon and murder them in sleep.
So through the livelong night they held their way,
And 'twas a night to shame the fairest day;
So still, so bright, so tranquil was its reign
They cared not though the day ne'er came again.
The moon high wheel'd the distant hills above,
Silver'd the fleecy foliage of the grove
That as the wooing zephyrs on it fell
Whisper'd it loved the gentle visit well.
That fair-faced orb alone to move appear'd,
That zephyr was the only sound they heard.
No deep-mouth'd hound the hunter's haunt betrayed,
No lights upon the shore or waters play'd,
No loud laugh broke upon the silent air
To tell the wanderers man was nestling there,
All, all was still on gliding bark and shore,
As if the earth now slept to wake no more.

TICONDEROGA RESTORED

AFTER years of neglect and practical abandonment Fort Ticonderoga, one of the spots most replete with memories of American history, has undergone a radical restoration and will stand when the work is completed, in precise outward semblance of the original buildings associated with the names of Champlain, Montcalm, Abercrombie, Burgoyne, St. Clair and last, but by no means least, Ethan Allen. The work has been going on quietly for several years, and has now been carried out to about two-thirds of its proposed extent. That which has been done already has aroused enthusiasm in all who have seen it, including the party of eminent Frenchmen who journeyed last year to Lake Champlain to present the "La France" memorial bust by Rodin.

From the time of the discovery of an Indian stockade on the site of the Fort by Champlain in 1609, until the end of the struggle of the colonies to throw off the British yoke, Ticonderoga was the scene of oft-renewed conflict. There Frenchmen and Englishmen fought bitterly and with varying fortune, to be followed by antagonists of one race, one faction of which was to become the founder of the United States. It was there on July 9, 1758, that Montcalm inflicted upon Abercromby one of the most severe defeats that the English ever suffered at the hands of the French. From there Burgoyne drove St. Clair and harassed him as far as Saratoga, where he fell into the hands of Gates. In 1775 Ethan Allen, with his Green Mountain Boys demanded and received the surrender of the fort, "In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress," from neither of which, as has been remarked, he held a commission, and in 1780 the British, last to occupy the fort in its changing destinies, evacuated it and left it to fall into decay.

After the Federal Government had ceded the site to the State of New York, and it had in turn been granted to Columbia and Union Colleges, the land upon which Ticonderoga stood became the property of the Pell family. Stephen H. P. Pell, about five years ago, became interested in the restoration of the fort and after a number of consultations with Alfred C. Bossom, an architect of this city, who had been endeavoring for some time to have either the State or one of the patriotic

societies take up the work, acquired complete possession of the land and authorized Mr. Bossom to proceed with the restoration.

The task was no light one, as in its captures and recaptures the lines of the fort had in great part apparently been obliterated. In one place, between the bastions and the wall, eighteen feet of excavation was necessary before the remains of the old buildings could be reached. However, the work was undertaken with a will and met with a constantly increasing measure of success. It was found that the original structure had been in the form of a star, a strong fort of the so-called "Vauban" type, with barracks on three sides, a bomb-proof on the fourth and outlying demylunes. Around the whole, at a later period, Col. Eyre, an English engineer, under Gen. Amherst, had constructed outer fortification with a ditch.

Once the accumulation of years and the filled-in earthworks of conquerors had been removed, the outlines of the buildings could be accurately traced. Indeed, in several parts it was as if the ruins had merely collapsed upon themselves. Where the wooden walls had been burned by accident or by evacuating commanders, such as Bourlamaque, the roof tiles lay upon the *debris* which cluttered the original floor. Moreover, to assist in the work of making the restoration absolutely authentic, the French Government gave permission to have its archives and records searched. Pell also purchased in France tall, brown folios which would delight the heart of a bibliophile and delighted Bossom still more, for they contained the manuscript descriptions of the fort's plans and were illustrated by beautiful and carefully executed hand-colored plates of the work as a whole and in detail. The architect, of course, found these volumes treasure-trove, and they will rest in the museum to be established in the fort when his use for them is at an end.

Much of the original material of the fort as has been indicated, was found intact. Although, in the severe climate of the region, where forty below zero is not uncommon, no uncared-for walls had much chance of enduring, the rough stones composing the walls were retrieved and will all eventually find their way into their former places in the reconstructed walls and buildings. The same is true of the bricks which composed part of the structure, and so diligent has been the search for original material that not a single new brick will have to be used.

Indeed, the aim of the Pells has been to restore the fort as far as was humanly possible, not merely in appearance, but in its actual materials, as it stood when the red-coats of the British left it in 1780. On this point the architect said the other day:

"Some persons have cried out against the restoration on the ground that the sentiment of the place would be destroyed. That is farthest from the minds of those who are carrying out the work. The idea is not to kill the sentiment, but to put the fort in a condition in which every possible scrap of sentiment may be retained."

This feature of the work is being carried out to the last detail. Although few of the timbers were found intact, in many cases portions of them, such as doors, beam ends, etc., were found attached to the metal hinges or fastenings which had held them in position. It was thus possible to learn not only the size and thickness of all the wooden parts, but also the kind of wood of which they were composed. In replacing walls and doors, beams and planks, therefore, exact reproductions were possible, although it involved an exacting search of the surrounding country to find trees of the proper species and the required size to replace some of the old timbers. Some of the boards had to have a width of ten inches, no easy thing to secure in these days of forest denudation, but eloquent reminders of the splendid trees that must have bordered Lake Champlain and Lake George a hundred and fifty years ago.

In regard to metal parts, the same care has been exercised. By thorough search, a specimen of every bit of metal used in the construction was found. There were great strap hinges three feet long, odd, heavy bolts, wonderful door-plates that a lover of the old colonial would rejoice in, locks, latches, and spikes of several kinds, and half a dozen other articles of hand-forged iron that went into the construction of the fort. In order to have exact copies of these things, a forge was set up in the court yard of the fort itself, and all the metal work for the reconstruction was there forged by hand, just as was done when the neighboring woods were full of red men.

In the old Ticonderoga many of the barrack floors were of tile. For the most part the identical tiles have been recovered in sufficiently good condition to be incorporated into the restored structure. Whatever new ones were needed were made in conformity with those that formed

the original flooring. The glass in the old structure was of that peculiar "spun" variety occasionally seen in very old houses. Few of the small panes had withstood the ravages of time when the reconstructors began their work, but there were fortunately enough to show the size and nature of the panes. Replicas of these have been made in England especially for the fort and there will be no incongruity of glass in the structure when it is completed.

During the work of excavation and clearing, many interesting relics of its former state were found in different parts of this stronghold. Under the bastions, in the storeroom of the fort, many pickaxes and shovels as many as fifty in one place, were discovered, as well as about 700 "shots" or cannon balls. In order that proper cannon as well as cannon balls may be in the restored fort, the British Government has presented a battery of fourteen guns of the period and the Frenchmen who visited the spot last year have promised to use their influence to have a similar battery of old French cannon presented. Among the stores, muskets of Revolutionary and pre-Revolutionary date were also found, as well as enough old china to make a complete set. Coins, knives and forks, and other utensils in numbers have been recovered.

An orderly book compiled during Gen. Trumbull's occupancy of Ticonderoga in 1776 was acquired several years ago by Col. Robert M. Thompson, father-in-law of the present owner of the fort. One item in this book related the loss of his silver watch by a certain captain "near the wooden hospital." In 1909 this watch was found during excavation at this spot. It was in perfect condition, and bore the name of the captain inscribed in the case. It will, of course, rest in the fort's museum.

One of the most interesting recoveries in connection with the work of restoration was that of the hull of the schooner *Revenge*, thought to be the only British man-of-war in the possession of America. This vessel, together with the scows *Enterprise* and *Trumbull*, escaped to Ticonderoga when Benedict Arnold led a fleet to fight Carleton, and was moored at the dock there. Later in the war Col. Brown from Massachusetts captured these vessels, and fired them. The *Revenge* was burned to the water's edge and sunk. It is believed that she was taken before all her company had time to escape, for the skeleton of a man, probably the watch, was found in the forward part of the hold. He had been shot through the body and the bullet was found lodged in the spinal column.

Below the northern walls of the fort, on the side from which Ethan Allen entered, a feature known as the King's Garden, formerly the promenade of the officers, is to be reproduced. Here plants and flowers strange to this country served as fragrant reminders of the motherland they had left. And here these plants will bloom again in the new-old Ticonderoga. Already the wild hawthorn thrives there, the only place where it is found in this country, and the English may will also have its place.

The King's Garden, the recovered barracks, and indeed the whole plan of the reconstruction aroused the enthusiasm of the recent visitors from France. But the touch which brought home to them most strongly, perhaps, this remarkable reincarnation of the past, was the sight of the Royalist flag, the lilies of France, floating over the spot where one of their own race had found a stockade three centuries before.

R. M. C.

THE FITZ-GILBERT WATERS PAPERS

AN UP-TO-DATE ANTIQUARY

THE great service of the late Henry Fitz-Gilbert Waters to students of family history and social life can hardly at this time be estimated. The service grew with the years. He wrought in a field which was virgin soil to the antiquary, his research was systematic, therefore no knowing to what ends his labor will yield. His field as is well known was the families and homesteads of the Puritans who settled in America, notably New England. The England of 1620-1642, with generous margins before and later, gave him a scope ample in its proportions. English Archives in 1883 were not as they are today. Then they were without indices. If a researcher desired to explore he might to his heart's content, and not find what he was after. But today especially in Somerset House as relates to the probate records of London and its vicinity, there are indices from the early part of Elizabeth's reign to the years of the Commonwealth. These indices, while not full, afford a great guidance to the mind of the antiquary.

The New England Historic-Genealogical Society, Boston, in 1882, soon after the publication of the *Genealogical Gleanings* by Messrs.

Emmertson and Waters, announced through the daily press that a committee had been appointed to obtain subscriptions for the purpose of defraying the expenses of an antiquary in England, who should devote his entire time to the making of an orderly and systematic research of archives, notably, perhaps, at the outset, in Somerset House, London, and make abstracts, creating a literature to appear in their publications. The Society had Mr. Waters in mind. His precious labors in New England and English archives marked him as the man for the undertaking. Colonel I. L. Chester, an American, who had long been in England making researches for clients, had recently passed away. The researches, while full of value, were not as systematic as were desired. The result was that Mr. Waters sailed May 5, 1883, and on arrival in London began at once on his errand and reported the results of his first investigations.

These began to be published in the July, 1883, issue of the New England Historical and Genealogical Register with an introduction by John T. Hassam, Esq., chairman of the committee having the work in charge. These abstracts were made from records in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Somerset House. These abstracts added to the renown of the investigator and the aggressive spirit of the society.

Thenceforward Mr. Waters did a large share of his research in this office, probably nine-tenths of his eminent service. These abstracts have been styled "Gleanings," and as such are known throughout historical circles.

In 1901 the abstracts from the probate and other papers which previously had been printed in the Register, together with valuable notes, interpretations and suggestions, were published in two large volumes, making towards seventeen hundred pages. This is the great work of Mr. Waters' genealogical writings. Further, his bringing to light the Winthrop map of Boston harbor and the Maverick manuscript, describing the towns on the New England seaboard, place him in the front rank of antiquaries. To these we may add those genealogical studies based upon original research concerning the parentage and ancestry of John Harvard, George Washington, Roger Williams, John Rogers and additional information concerning men in humble or honored places in life. The greatest accomplishments of Mr. Waters were promptly reported to the committee on English research, in whose employ he was. This committee as promptly published the items of largest interest in The New England Historical

and Genealogical Register, and the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society were avenues of immediate communication.

In 1879 when Mr. Waters was in London he made a copy of the Marriage Licenses granted by the Bishop of London, 1598-1639, though the later years were not so complete as he desired. Colonel Chester had formerly made extracts from this archive, but the attentions of Mr. Waters made a larger value to be gained from it. These Marriage Licenses were published in 1892 by the Essex Institute.

In this connection, it is well to state that while the New England Historic-Genealogical Society may have led in the initial movements for systematic English researches, they were nobly seconded by members of the Massachusetts Historical Society, also by the society as a corporation. Many of the members of the research committee were members of both societies. Mr. Hassam, chairman, notably, found the results of the research so important that he used each society as an opportunity for making known the more eminent discoveries.

The men back of the enterprise at the outset were few. Fortunate it is that such far-seeing men as James J. Goodwin of Connecticut and William S. Appleton, Boston, had a leading hand in the undertaking. It was the policy not only of Mr. Waters, but of the research committee, to publish the material promptly and fully. In this way the undertaking was made popular and the general reader was early made familiar with the latest discoveries. This policy was adhered to, and as a consequence little remains among the unprinted material which Mr. Waters left at his decease.

As is the case with every literary man who has many irons in the fire, there are remnants in every undertaking. These are remnants and not the full nor the completed article. When Mr. Waters returned to America his health not being good, he loaned his study "material" to an American residing in London, who was pursuing genealogical researches for clients, thinking it might be of assistance to him, and be in readiness, when health was regained, and he was once more able to take up the work. Mr. Waters, it would appear, never returned to England, so that these unfinished, incomplete notes yet remain in England.

As may be said, they resemble chaff when the wheat is threshed out. The investigations which were in any way complete were promptly published.

As Mr. Waters was systematic and methodical in his research and manner of keeping his notes, it would not be strange that some time these fragments may serve to suggest or fill out other and later investigations.

Mr. Waters himself was under obligations to Colonel Chester's notes for a slight clew to the parentage of John Harvard, and with this clew as a starter Mr. Waters readily sought the probate source and the question was settled, then other investigators began finding additional confirmatory information and extended particulars were speedily published. It was the skill of Mr. Waters, however, which saw incomplete and partial data become the way opener to the fuller information. In some such way it may prove—that among the manuscript notes of Mr. Waters—there may be found an inspiration or a suggestion to the future antiquary.

Recently an administrator was appointed upon the estate of Mr. Waters. This ordinary form was entered upon that his estate may come to a legal conclusion, and not because there are great questions to be determined concerning his literary remains.

There are practically no literary remains. There is a certain value to chaff, but little compared to the wheat which was taken from it. Mr. Waters was a skilled man in abstracting testamentary records, and there was not much legal verbiage to his abstracts. He was quick and keen to see the essential. His intimate knowledge of the settlers of New England enabled him to see at once whether the document was worth the abstracting. The methods of the man and the instructions of the committee under whom the work was pursued were entirely against any great amount of investigation aside from the main purpose in view.

Dr. James Arthur Emmerton, Salem, was a fellow classmate of Mr. Waters in Harvard College, 1853, a fellow comrade in the Twenty-Third Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers and a life-long companion in a great variety of interests. In the summer of 1879 Dr. Emmerton invited Mr. Waters to be his summer comrade in England with the express purpose of developing information concerning the Emmerton family in England, also historical researches in which they were mutually interested. The primary results of the English exploitation were the notes which comprised the "Gleanings from English Records about

New England Families," published by the Essex Institute of Salem, in 1880. It was pioneer work, from a New England point of view among English archives. It immediately attracted attention. It evidenced the vast wealth of genealogical material among the probate and other records of England.

The inspiration which Doctor Emmerton gave students of family life, awakened fresh interests in many minds which was wide-spread. Dr. Emmerton—ever a benefactor to the quiet and unassuming Waters, renewed his activities in the life work of his friend. Let it be here said that Doctor Emmerton passed away in Salem the last day of 1880, and under his will his benefaction to Mr. Waters was continued. This same benefaction, now that Mr. Waters has passed away, becomes a fund, under the administration of Essex Institute, for the publication of historical material.

The services of Mr. Waters have been generously appreciated by the antiquaries who have entered even partially into his labors. Mr. Charles H. Pope, author of "The Pioneers of Massachusetts" and other notable historical publications, pays tribute to his care and faithfulness; Mr. Joseph Gardner Bartlett of the committee of English research, who himself is familiar with the methods and matter of English investigation, is hearty in paying honor to his integrity as an antiquarian and transcriber; Miss Elizabeth French, in a way a representative of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society in England, finds in Mr. Waters an inspiration; and Mr. Lothrop Withington has many reasons for gratitude for the pioneer skill, knowledge and enthusiasm of the notable antiquary.

Antiquaries will come and pass, but a large work will ever remain. Unexplored fields will be developed, and somehow the data from a thousand sources will dovetail together. Faithfulness and integrity as chief elements of skill are ever required. In Mr. Waters these characteristics were large and strong. In him students of historical exploitation find a man worthy of emulation.

ANSON TITUS.

Transcript, Boston.

JONATHAN CARVER VINDICATED

SINCE the love of adventure exists so universally in the heart of man, it is not strange that the "Travels" of Capt. Jonathan Carver sprang into immediate popularity upon its first appearance in 1778. His account of campaigns in the French and Indian War and of his travels among the Indians of the lake and upper Mississippi region was not only widely read by the next generation, but became the popular manual of information on its subject. It was issued again and again in English and was translated into most of the languages of Europe. Its popularity was justified by its excellence, which has been praised by a well-known historian of American literature in the following words:

Besides its worth for instruction, is its worth for delight; we have no other "Indian book" more captivating than this. Here is the charm of a sincere, powerful, and generous personality—the charm of significant facts, of noble ideas, of humane sentiments, all uttered in English well-ordered and pure.

From the book of this New England traveller, Schiller drew the language and thought for his "Nadowessiers Totenlied," and many of the passages on the Indians in Chateaubriand's "Voyage en Amerique" were derived from the same source. After Carver's travels had ceased to be the fountain for popular information, it became the historical source book for historians of the older school, who were ready to accept their printed material without questioning carefully the reliability of the author.

Occasionally Western travellers and writers of a later date ventured to criticise the accounts of Carver, and even to charge that he could not have been in the countries he claimed to have visited; or, if he had, that his ignorance was such as to have made the composition of the volume impossible. These sporadic attacks gained no general recognition, however, until a well-equipped and acute historian of the modern school turned on the work all the light of historical criticism.

One of the most fascinating studies for the critical historian is the attempt to prove his suspicion that the purported author of a document or book could not possibly have written it; and many most valuable and interesting services to the science of history have been performed by

students who have been successful in establishing their opinion by means of the canons of internal and external criticism. The late Prof. Edward G. Bourne, of Yale University, published, in 1906, in the January number of the *American Historical Review* a study of this character on "The Travels of Jonathan Carver." The well-deserved reputation for accuracy of the critic added such weight to his reasoning that his final judgment was almost universally accepted. From the time of the appearance of Professor Bourne's essay there was a general agreement among the historical fraternity that Carver was an impostor with no right to the title of captain, that he was too ignorant to have written the book that bears his name, and that, although the first part, containing an account of his travels, was derived from his information, the second and more important part, which describes the Indians, was a mere compilation from French sources by some hack writer. Professor Bourne summed up his final judgment in these words:

It is clear from the evidence here presented that the "Travels" of Jonathan Carver can no longer be ranked as an authentic record of the observations of the supposed author In any case, Carver's "Travels" must now take its place beside Benzoni's "History of the New World" and "The Book of Sir John Mandeville."

This judgment, so sweeping and caustic, appeared to be amply justified by the evidence produced; and the clever essay has frequently been cited as an excellent example of critical analysis; but it is no less an excellent example of the fallacy committed by historians, when they ignore that first and most important law of historical criticism, namely, "Thou shalt gather every scrap of information, lest thou thyself fall into the hands of the hostile critic." Scholars in the State of Wisconsin, where the name of Jonathan Carver had long been held in reverence as that of the first English explorer of the State, were not satisfied with this final judgment; and, after several years of quiet investigation, Mr. John T. Lee has just published in the Proceedings of the Wisconsin Historical Society an essay entitled "Captain Jonathan Carver; Additional Data," which is a real justification of the doughty captain.

First of all, Mr. Lee takes up the questions: Was Carver a captain of the provincial troops during the French and Indian War? Was he at the siege and capitulation of Fort William Henry in 1757, which event he describes so graphically? A search among the archives of Massachusetts and elsewhere has given abundant evidence of Carver's service and rank. In fact, one is overwhelmed with the evidence and won-

ders how any charge that the captain was an impostor was ever seriously entertained. It is only necessary to cite here a passage from the certificate of Gen. Gage, written in 1768: "These are to certify, that Mr. Jonathan Carver served as Captain in the Provincials during the late war, with Reputation, and has ever bore the Character of a very Good Man."

The charge of ignorance and lack of education is also easily disproved. The fact that Carver was an officer cannot, of course, be taken as proof of his education, as there were officers among the provincials with little or no schooling. In the case of Carver, however, there is abundant evidence of his education. Before the appearance of his volume, he had acquired an enviable reputation as a map maker, as is shown by the following facts: the best contemporary map of the Province of Quebec bears his name; the De Costa map of Boston (1775) was largely his work; Carver was called upon to "improve" the "Map of the British Empire in North America" published in the "American Atlas." In this connection the statement of the present keeper of manuscripts in the British Museum should be quoted. After examining the Carver documents under his custody, he writes: "Carver must have been a man of very considerable education; his style and writing are as good (say) as Captain Cook's."

Mr. Lee has printed with his essay the petitions by Carver to the British Government for reimbursement of his expenses, and one report of the Board of Trade. These contain earlier information concerning his claims to have made important discoveries in the West than that in his book. In the report of the Board of Trade of July 10, 1769, it is asserted that Carver "undertook and performed a journey of great extent thro' the interior and unfrequented parts of the Continent of North America, travelling to the westward of Michillimackinac as far as the Heads of the Great River Mississippi, directing his Course from thence westward almost to the South Sea, and in his turn exploring the whole Circuit of the Great Lake Superior." Of course, this is an exaggeration of Carver's westward journeyings, but it is interesting to note, on account of the repeated denials by students and explorers, that the Board received from Carver's maps, journal, and conversation a distinct impression of a journey westward of the Mississippi.

Carver was chosen for this exploratory expedition by Major Robert Rogers, commandant of Mackinac at the time. The major had been appointed to his post by political influence in spite of the opposition of Gen. Gage and Sir William Johnson, and immediately inaugurated far-reaching plans, the purpose of which cannot be very certainly ascertained. For his acts he was charged with treason and upon trial at Montreal was acquitted.

Although Rogers's plans are very obscure, his purpose in sending out Carver is more understandable. Before leaving England, he had asserted his intentions of exploring the West, and it seems evident that he hoped not only to find a route to the Pacific Ocean, but also to extend the fur trade. A third purpose may have been the search for mines, and this may have been the reason for Carver's exploration of Lake Superior. It is reported that Charles Townshend sent an agent for this purpose to Lake Superior at about the same time that Carver was there, and possibly Carver and the agent were the same. At any rate, shortly after the return of Rogers and Carver to London, there was formed a Lake Superior Mining Company, composed of influential men, who obtained the King's consent to carry on their operations in that region. Although the connection between Carver and the company is not established, yet the circumstantial evidence is such as to make it extremely probable.

From Mr. Lee's study of Carver and from my own investigation of the same subject, it seems to me certain that Professor Bourne's contentions are unproven, except as regards plagiarism in that part of the volume devoted to the description of the Indians, a fact known long before Professor Bourne wrote. Instead of rejecting the volume as of no more worth than that of Sir John Mandeville, the history of his campaigns and travels may be used by historians in the same way as they would use a similar work by an intelligent and relatively cultivated man, for such Carver evidently was.

C. W. ALVORD.

Urbana, Ill.

MINOR TOPICS

DANIEL WEBSTER'S ENGLISH

The original draft of a letter written by Webster to Lord Campbell is in the writer's possession.

Many alterations and corrections appear, all in Webster's handwriting, but unfortunately the document is not signed.

So far as is known to the writer this letter has never been published.

The recent celebration at Franklin and the recent visit of Lord Haldane combine to render it of timely interest.

Distinguished, as this letter is, by strength and purity of style, and on the whole by accuracy of expression, it nevertheless bears testimony in a noteworthy manner to the understanding of Horace when he wrote the Latin equivalent for "Homer sometimes nods."

The story goes (as handed down by the writer's uncle, the late Charles Lanman, Webster's private secretary at the time the letter was written) that Homer woke up; and that in the letter actually sent my Lord Campbell the words "I have the honor of no acquaintance with your Lordship" did not appear.

LANMAN CROSBY.

New York, September 8.

MY LORD CAMPBELL:

Some days of unexpected leisure have given me an opportunity of reading the "Lives of the Lord Chancellors," and I feel inevitably impelled to signify to your Lordship the pleasure and profit which the perusal of the vols. has afforded me.

The subject is a noble one. It has been treated according to its merits.

The work may be read with advantage by all political & all professional men.

The lives which have most interested me are those of Ellesmere & Bacon, Charles Yorke & the incomparable Somers.

All must be gratified to see the title of Ellesmere restored in the person of a worthy and accomplished descendant.

As to Bacon, I agree with you, that heretofore there has been no just history of his life.

Indeed I doubt whether we shall ever be able to trace the processes of his extraordinary mind. Indeed, I think, his conceptions were with-

out regular process. A sort of intuition seems to characterize his mental power. Although I do not imagine that he fully comprehended himself, if one may (do) so, or knew the full extent and consequence of his own conceptions, yet doubtless he felt conscious of his superiority to the age; & the manner in which he commended himself to the judgment of posterity [Quotation of 3 words illegible] is exceedingly touching.

If England had been sunk in the sea the day of his death, Bacon would have made her memory immortal.

The life of Charles Yorke is a tale of deep pathos. One cannot read it without high admiration, sympathy & heartfelt sorrow. We know not what his future might have been; but how bright that future looked, up to the evil hour, in which he took the seals.

But the man of men is Somers. I assure you, My Dear Lord, that I have made his character a contemplation & a study. I have collected and perused all that I could concerning him; & I remember well before I was admitted to the Bar, I read his defence of the "Seven golden candlesticks" not without tears; & rose from my chair & joined the Stuarts, which conveyed the news of their triumph to the palace of the last of the Stuart Kings.

My Lord, excuse this intrusion. I have the honor of no acquaintance with your Lordship, except a casual introduction & a few minutes' conversation in the House of Lords. But your biography of the great men, who have had seats on the woolsack, & the manner in which it was written seem to bring congenial professional minds together & to create a warmth of common feeling between the lovers of constitutional liberty on both sides of the Atlantic. We are of one school; and Nottingham, & Hardwicke & Eldon as great teachers of Equity jurisprudence, & Somers and Camden, as intelligent & unterrified asserters of public liberty, will hereafter be held in the same regard, my lord, by your posterity & mine.

I am with entire respect

Your h. serv.

To the Right Honble Lord Campbell.

Sun, N. Y.

(The celebration to which Mr. Crosby refers)

HONOR WEBSTER'S MEMORY

Franklin, N. H., Aug. 28.

Exercises celebrating the restoration of the house in which Daniel Webster was born on Jan. 18, 1782, were begun today and will be continued to-morrow. The homestead is a small wooden structure, situated about two and a half miles west of the business district of Franklin, and was fast falling into decay when it was acquired by the Webster Association, which took over the whole Webster estate of about thirty acres. When the statesman first saw the light the home stood in what was then the town of Salisbury, but in 1828 the place was incorporated in the town of Franklin.

The speakers today were Chief Justice Frank H. Parsons, Vice President of the Webster Association; Clarence E. Carr, Second Vice President; Gov. Samuel D. Felker, President Ernest F. Nichols of Dartmouth College, and former Congressman Samuel W. McCall of Massachusetts. Addresses prepared by former United States Senator William E. Chandler and United States Senator Jacob H. Gallinger were read by others. Several thousand persons were present.

LAST RECORDS OF LOST MEN

A peculiar and pathetic interest attaches to the last records of lost explorers, dying alone and unaided amid icy wildernesses or in the steaming depths of tropical jungles.

The diary kept by the gallant Captain Scott teems with tragic touches, but it also has its beautiful and its heroic side. No more splendid instance of magnificent self-sacrifice has been recorded than the action of the disabled Captain Oates, in seeking voluntary death in the blizzard, so as not to be a burden on his surviving companions.

The world is richer in the possession of facts such as these, which is why the last diaries of men dying in similar circumstances have always been ardently sought and carefully treasured.

It was, for example, in order to try and recover the papers belonging to the lost Arctic explorer, Mylius Erichsen, that Captain Mikkelsen recently spent two awful years among the icy solitudes of North-east Greenland. He failed in his quest, and he and his solitary companion came near to losing their own lives.

These journals of poor Erichsen, if they are ever found, will doubtless tell a similarly stirring story to that left behind by Scott. Until then, there is only one record that closely parallels it, and that is the diary left by the American, De Long, who, with other survivors from the Arctic exploring ship *Jeanette*, perished amid the frozen wastes of North-eastern Siberia, in the winter of 1881.

De Long's diary, which was recovered, and has been published, might almost be a duplicate, in parts, of that kept by poor Scott.

Only in De Long's case, the tragedy was even more appalling than in Scott's, for his party consisted of no fewer than thirteen men, and these all died from starvation and exposure. The last entry reads as follows: "140th day—Boyd and Gortz died during the night; Mr. Collins dying."

The gallant De Long was then left with but one companion, Doctor Ambler, the medical officer to the expedition, for the deaths of the other men had been previously recorded, and doubtless the two last of the survivors died that day or the next. At all events, the journal ended abruptly at this point.

By far the most dreadful tragedy of Arctic exploration was the loss of the Franklin expedition, when the whole of the officers and men of the two exploring ships, *Erebus* and *Terror*, 139 in all, perished. Curiously enough, though many relics of the ill-fated commander, Sir John Franklin, were recovered by search parties and are now preserved in the museum attached to the Greenwich Hospital, none of his diaries or personal papers were ever found.

One single written record of the lost expedition remains to us. It is in the form of a sheet torn from a small pocket diary, and these are the words it contains: "April 25, 1848—*Terror* and *Erebus* were abandoned. Sir John Franklin died on June 11, 1847, and the total loss by deaths up to this date, nine officers and fifteen men."

This precious scrap of paper was discovered in a cairn on King William's Island in the year 1858. There was no signature, but the handwriting was afterwards identified as that of Capt. Fitzjames, one of Sir John's officers.

In the tragic history of exploration no briefer record than this exists of a disaster so appalling in its magnitude; although Burke and Wills, who first crossed Australia, left behind them only a few tattered leaves from an old pocket book to tell the story of how they and their companions had lain down in the desert to die.

Of all the many valuable and interesting documents left behind by lost explorers, however, none can vie in importance with the last journals of David Livingstone, who died, worn out by hunger and privation,

at Ilala, in Central Africa, May 1, 1873. These were brought down to the coast, together with his body, by his faithful black "boys," and were published in December, 1874.

They told of vast and far-reaching discoveries and explorations, undertaken under almost inconceivable conditions of hardship and privation. In fact, Livingstone literally laid down his life for his country, since to his pioneer enterprise is largely due the fact that so great a part of Africa is today colored red upon the map.

Answers, LONDON

MONUMENT TO ANNE ROYALL "COMMON SCOLD" AND PUBLICIST

After nearly sixty years of oblivion the memory of Miss Anne Royall, first American woman publicist, was honored when a tombstone was erected on her grave in the Congressional Cemetery. Several short addresses were made. The State Equal Suffrage Association of the District, the Washington Chapters of the D. A. R., and students of Gallaudet Institute placed wreaths on the grave.

Anne Royall in 1825 began publishing a newspaper in Washington and was the only woman in the United States ever convicted of being "a common scold." She was a champion of Free Masonry. Her sympathy with deaf mutes was notable and she did much towards bringing them into the employ of the Government.

ANNE ROYALL'S LANDMARK GONE

Washington, August 21.

Lovers of historic landmarks protested today when they discovered that the famous stone on which Anne Royall sat and "interviewed" President John Quincy Adams, while the head of the nation was bathing in the Potomac River, had been removed to make room for improvements in Potomac Park.

For years the stone occupied the identical spot that Anne Royall made famous and before which the President stood in water up to his neck, while the young woman quizzed him. Miss Royall has been handed down in history as "the mother of journalism and the inventor of the interview." Steps will be taken to preserve the stone for the benefit of future generations.

NOTES BY THE WAY

SURVIVORS OF DEATH VALLEY

Survivors of the pioneer band of "Death Valley Argonauts" who crossed the desert into California sixty-three years ago, held a reunion at Santa Cruz, Cal., last February at the home of Mrs. James W. Brier, one of the party, now ninety-nine years old. Thirty-six of the band of two hundred, who drank ox-blood to quench their thirst in the arid salt sink were present—every living member but one. Four generations of the Brier family attended the reunion, including Mrs. Brier's son, Rev. J. W. Brier, who was six years old at the time of the expedition and tramped for hundreds of miles clinging to his mother's hand, after the wagons had been burned for fuel. Old records of the trip, passed around at the banquet table, showed that the "Jayhawkers," as they called themselves, left Galesburg, Ill., April 5, 1849. The party was the first to explore Death Valley.

THE STARS AND STRIPES

Circulation in leaflet form of rules for the use and veneration of the American flag and for prevention of its desecration, as prepared by Mrs. Ida Louise Gibbs, continues to bring excellent results. Mrs. Gibbs, who is the founder of Dorothy Brewer Chapter, D. A. R., of Waltham, and who was appointed a member of the national committee of the D. A. R. on prevention of the desecration of the flag, has been active in furthering its veneration and her work has been indorsed by the National Society D. A. R. It has been generally distributed in the public schools of this country. By permission of school boards and superintendents in several cities in Massachusetts, Mrs. Gibbs has distributed about 20,000 copies. The leaflet reads as follows:

THE AMERICAN FLAG

Its Use—Its Forbidden Abuse

The American flag is the symbol of the brotherhood of man. It stands for courage, for chivalry, for generosity and honor.

No hand must touch it roughly; no hand shall touch it irreverently.

Its position is aloft—to float over its children, uplifting their eyes and hearts by its glowing colors and splendid promise, for under the Stars and Stripes are opportunities unknown to any other nation of the world.

The Government commands the people to honor their flag. Men and boys should uncover as they pass the vivid stripes which represent the life blood of brave men and the stars which shall shine on forever.

It must be raised at sunrise, lowered at sunset.

It is not a plaything of the hour; it is a birthright of privilege and integrity.

It may not be used as staff, or whip, or covering.

It shall not be marred by advertisement or desecrated on the stage.

It was born in tears and blood. It was baptized in blood and tears.

It was floated since June 14, 1777, over a country of benevolence, refuge and progress.

It must always be carried upright.

To bear the Star Spangled Banner is an honor, to own one a sacred trust.

It is the emblem of freedom, of equality, of justice for every person and creature as it floats unvanquished—untarnished over the open door of free education.

THE HOLLIS HALL PAGEANT

The historical pageant which was held on June 14, in connection with the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the building of Hollis Hall at Harvard, was one of the most picturesque and interesting affairs of its kind ever held in an American college. The pageant took place in the afternoon behind Hollis Hall, and about one hundred performers took part in it. Following the pageant there was a dinner in the Union. The speakers were ex-President Eliot, President Lowell and F. J. Swayze, '79, of the Supreme Court of New Jersey.

The pageant was under the charge of Professor G. P. Baker, '87, of the department of English, who is also the author. There were seven episodes, showing the development in the history of Harvard from the time when Sir Thomas Hollis was a benefactor of the college in the eighteenth century down through the American Revolution to modern times. The presentation was very carefully worked up by Professor Baker and gave a remarkably clear and accurate picture of Hollis Hall and the student life about it at all stages in its history. The quadrangle back of Hollis was decorated and sufficiently altered to resemble quite closely the old Hollis Hall, so that the old front of the building, now the rear, formed the back-drop of the stage.

The seven episodes were as follows: I. Prologue. II. Sir Thomas Hollis in London. III. Dedication of the Hall. IV. Revolutionary Scene. V. Harvard Washington Corps. VI. Commemoration Ode Scene. VII. Finale. In connection with the pageant there were several selections of eighteenth and nineteenth century music, rendered by the University Glee Club, accompanied by twelve pieces.

THE SARATOGA AND DEERFIELD PAGEANTS

So successful were the pageants given at Saratoga Springs in 1912, and at Deerfield in 1910, that each was repeated in August, 1913, with equal or greater success than at the first presentation. No less than twenty-five hundred people were in the Saratoga "cast" and it was a matter of great regret to the Editor that he was unable to be present at either celebration.

A JEFF DAVIS CAPTOR

Philadelphia, May 16.

Caspar Knobel, said to be the last survivor of the fourteen men who captured Jefferson Davis, was found unconscious today in his home, where he had attempted to end his life with illuminating gas. Clutched tightly in his hand was the gold medal Congress awarded him.

A physician who was called resuscitated Knobel and he was taken to a hospital, but it is said that on account of his age, he may not recover.

Each year on May 10 the veteran had celebrated the capture of the President of the Confederacy. He is on the Government pension rolls,

and up until a short time ago had worked as a mechanic, but he had got to the point where he could earn little. His poverty prompted him to attempt suicide.

Knoble celebrated the capture of Jefferson Davis, as usual, May 10. On those occasions he would dress in his uniform of the Grand Army of the Republic and with his Congress medal on his breast he would entertain his few remaining old friends.

ADDIS ALBRO DEAD

Addis Albro, author of "Our Country's Flag," the first book on the origin of the American flag, died October 15, 1912, in Columbus, N. M.

Mr. Albro was born in Middleburg, N. Y., February 18, 1855. He was graduated from St. Lawrence University in 1880, and in the following year was ordained to the Methodist Episcopal ministry. In 1886, after having been college president and professor, he was graduated from the Albany Law School. From 1890 to 1893 he was engaged in pastoral work at Utica, N. Y., and from 1894 to 1898 he was field secretary of the New York State Sabbath Association. He was chaplain of the New York Senate in 1893.

He was a warm personal friend of Theodore Roosevelt. At the time of his death Mr. Albro was collector of United States customs at Columbus. He was instrumental in forming the tentative constitution of New Mexico.

Mr. Albro was buried in Detroit, his former home.

A REMNANT OF THE ACADIANS

In the centre of the Gulf of St. Lawrence the small group of Magdalen Islands is populated by three or four thousand lineal descendants of the Acadians under Champlain and De Monts, who were driven out of New France, Nova Scotia, by the English.

Since the first settlement in 1763 generations of the same families have raised scanty crops in the valleys and fed sheep and cattle on the high, conical hills which constitute a prominent feature of an insular landscape.

Year after year men have gone out on the water of the Gulf in search of the cod, mackerel and lobsters on which their livelihood depends. They are a simple, primitive people, these native of the Magdalens, laboring all the while under circumstances that are most discouraging.

The archipelago contains twelve or thirteen distinct islands, including several grim rocks which are not inhabited and never will be. But the remarkable feature about the physical formation of the whole group is the way in which one island is in some instances connected with another by a long stretch of sandy beach, enabling a person, if he desires to do so, to go for a score of miles or more along the most barren shore in the world, one that is uninhabited and unrelieved by vegetation of any kind, the only animal life being the thousands of gulls, terns, gannets and other sea fowl which are extremely numerous in all this region.

Rosary Magazine.



ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

JOURNAL OF THE QUEBEC ATTACK

After Charlestown and Bunker Hill the first serious move in the direction of American Independence was made by Montgomery and Benedict Arnold in the effort to take Montreal and Quebec. In the first they were successful, as Montgomery in the fall of 1775 at the head of five hundred Continental troops took the forts which guarded the approach to Lake Champlain, moved on and occupied Montreal, and then planned to join Benedict Arnold, who had set out from Connecticut to force his way to the British garrisons at the north, although arriving before Quebec with scarcely seven hundred men. Montgomery and Arnold were both young and daring and the month of December which they spent in unavailing efforts by means of ice-redoubts and other ineffectual means to force Carleton to give up the city chafed them to such an extent that they determined to carry it by assault on the night of December 30, 1775. Here Montgomery lost his life and Arnold was driven back by overwhelming numbers, four hundred Americans were killed, wounded or taken prisoner, the remainder retiring to Sillery, a camp three miles away, where the blockade was resumed for the rest of the winter.

These are facts well known in history now, but the details in connection with the attack and its results come out by degrees in private correspondence as it is gathered by historians or collectors. Any details about the actual attack on Quebec are of the utmost interest on account of the fate of General Montgomery, and those conveyed in letters of a personal nature between members of the same family are seldom seen—much more seldom than between business acquaintances or friends. A letter from a subaltern in Arnold's command to the wife left in Connecticut is such a page of private history as is most sought for at the present. It was written two weeks after the attack on Quebec, and shows very plainly some almost insurmountable difficulties as well as the indomitable spirit of the raw American troops in the face of the most severe blow so far to their cause—the death of Montgomery and the failure to take possession of Quebec. The letter reads as follows:

Camp Before Quebeck 15th Jan'y 1776.

Dear Wife:

These lines are in haste wrote to Inform you I am in Good health, Altho' Much Chagreen'd by the late Repulse which our Troops have met with. I am now like a lone Bird in a Cage, My Cap't with one Lieut'n and Q'r M'r Catlin are Prisoners in Quebeck, one Lieut'n killed in the Attack. I am left with a few of the Comp'y to Mourn their loss and Misfortune. I would beg you to make yourself as contented as you possibly can while I am absent and join with me in Thanks to Almighty God who has spar'd me, and us hope of Meeting again in this World, when others of similar connection are separated. The loss of a Brother Officer, one which I was most intimate with and with whom I had form'd

a firm friendship in hopes of Duration, was a touch near my heart. But I thank God Reason forbids me to dwell on Misfortunes. I am in incouraged Spirits & doubt not we shall be in Possession of Quebeck notwithstanding our repulse within two months—from this you'll understand I intend to stand by my undertaking until I see my acquaintance sett free from Quebeck or loose all. Thank God I am in very good quarters, have very good living and am very well cloath'd, would have you give yourself no Trouble about my Circumstances. I am well provided for as to food and raiment, should have less anxiety on my mind if I knew you and my dear Little Ones were as well supply'd. My Warmest and most sincere affection to you & Love to my little ones accept from your devoted Husband

JAMES KNOWLES.

N. B. I think I wrote to you from Ft. Weston that I had Sent a Bill to Mr. Webb, on the Pay Master Gen'l of Connecticut. I withdrew my Packet as the vessel was not like to leave Kennebeck & return'd it to Col. Arnold. I have now all my wages due since the 1st of August past, this I mention that in case I should fail to settle myself you may be able to call on Capt. Oliver Hanshett's Camp therefor, where you'll find me in rank with the Subaltern Officers. Don't be troubled my Dear on account of my Situation or absence, I hope to enjoy myself with you and my family soon after we have taken Quebec—don't fail to keep my John at school, poor boy, God Bless him, I long to see you all in the peaceable Establish'd enjoyment of Liberty. I hope you don't suffer for comfortable Necessaries while I am abroad on this Ground. Should be glad to send you a remittance if I could find a safe way to assist you & comfort my dear little Children. You will present my dutiful Regards to my Mother & our Father and Mother Benton, to Sister Patty (who married Capt. John Strong) & Brother and Sister Love, remembrance to our Neighbors and acquaintances, to Aunt Webb in particular. Make a night's visit to Candale with Mrs. Catlin whose Husband is a Prisoner in Quebec. Nath's Colman is also a Prisoner. I dare not mention the dangers of the Attack in particular but let it suffice to say it was a Desperate push which cost too many Brave Men. I remain your Sincere friend and Loving Husband.

JAMES KNOWLES.

LETTER OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS TO ARNOLD BUFFUM

(Mr Buffum was a prominent philanthropist and abolitionist of Philadelphia.

What would Adams have said to "Grandfather clauses" and similar anti-negro enactments of the present day ?)

I entertain the opinion perhaps in some respects peculiar to myself, that if it be proper for an Orator of transcendent accomplishments, to address popular assemblies, other than of his own constituents, upon topics of great national interest, and upon which the opinions or the People are greatly divided, not without an intermixture of discordant feeling, it is a privilege exclusively belonging to them and that it ought by no others to be exercised or attempted—Conscious of possessing no such Superior Talent, I never have attempted or pretended to exercise it I may add that in my representative character, and during a period of my life while I was in practice at the bar, I never spoke, to a Court, Jury, or Legislative Assembly, but with extreme reluctance, nor without more pain than I would willingly inflict upon the bitterest enemy I have in the world.

While a Convention of the People of Pennsylvania refuse to strike out the word 'white' from the roll of men entitled to the elective franchise—while your Chief Justice strikes all coloured men out from the list, without even waiting for the insertion of that disfranchising word in the Constitution, while your Legislative Assembly refuses the use of their hall for the delivery of an Anti-Slavery Lecture, and while your coloured men are excluded from the right of trial, by Jury, be assured that all your *ambitious* Statesmen, will rest their hopes of advancement upon the *denial* of all community of opinion with you. They will continue to be as they universally are—anti-abolitionists—Expect nothing from them.

If the time should ever come, when your power will be felt at elections, Candidates will court your favour, by concurring with your opinions. They now feel their interest to court your adversaries, and to call you fanatics and incendiaries—If I should live to witness the change, I shall then be ready to say with Simeon of Old—'Lord, lettest thou thy servant depart in Peace'—for myself, for the short remnants of my days on earth, I shall desire only your good opinion and your approbation.

I am with great respect, your friend and fellow citizen,

J. Q. ADAMS.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES AND QUERIES

INTERNACIONA NOTARO E QUESTIONARO

May, 1913.

Editor: EUGENE F. McPIKE
135 Park Row
Chicago, Ill., U. S. A.

Redaktero: EUGENE F. McPIKE
135 Park Row,
Chicago, Ill., U. S. A.

ORDER OF CONTENTS

NOTICE

ASSOCIATION FOR THE CREATION OF A UNIVERSAL LANGUAGE BUREAU

- 408-9. International Language.
- 630. Agriculture.
- 656. Transportation.
- 800. Literature.
- 808. Quotations.
- 900. History.
- 917. Geography and Travel.
- 927. Modern Artists.
- 929. Genealogy.

ORDINO DI KONTENAJO

A VISO

ASOCIURO POR LA KREO DI UNIVERSALA LINGUO-KOUTURO

- 408-9 Internaciona Linguo.
- 630. Agrokulturo.
- 656. Transportado.
- 800. Literaturo.
- 808. Quotations.
- 900. Historio.
- 917. Geografio e Turismo.
- 927. Modern Artisti.
- 929. Genealogio.

NOTICE

Correspondents will please write on only one side of paper and use a separate sheet for each subject. All communications must be signed, with address, not necessarily for publication, but as evidence of good faith. Each separate query should be accompanied by an addressed and stamped envelope. The editor does not assume any responsibility for the correctness of replies sent by contributors. Send all communications to the editor.

Those desiring the publication separate from the MAGAZINE can have it for \$2.25 a year (U. S. and Canada; other countries \$2.50).

A VISO

Korespondanti volentes skribar sur nur un latero di la papero, ed uzas aparta folio por omna singla temo. Omna komunikaji mustas esar subskribata, kun adreso, ne necese por imprimi, ma nur kom garantio di bona fido. Omna singla questiono devos esar akompanata da adresita kuverta, e respondokupono. La Redaktero ne asumas iuga responsiveco por la respondi sendita da korespondanti. Turnes sempre a la Redaktero.

Abono: Aŝrankite, en Usono e Kanado, Fr. 11.50 yare. Aŝrankite, en alia landi, Fr. 12.50 yare.

ASSOCIATION FOR THE CREATION OF A UNIVERSAL LANGUAGE BUREAU

The Association for the creation of a Universal Language Bureau, founded in Berne on February 27, 1911, and entered in the Commercial Register, has for its immediate object the presentation of an address to the Swiss Federal Council, in which the latter is to be requested to send a confidential inquiry to other governments as to whether they are willing to give their support to the summoning of an official provisional conference. This conference will undertake preliminaries with regard to combining together as many governments as possible into a universal language union. The foundation of this universal language union and the creation of a universal language bureau is then reserved for an official congress of the governments concerned. This congress will have to form the definite conclusions which will be based upon the preliminary labours of the provisional conference

As a foundation for the step to be taken by the Swiss Federal Council and for the labours of the provisional conference the Association will undertake, with the help of experts, a draft of an international treaty for the introduction of a universal language, and incorporate it in their memorial.

On the other hand, the choice of the international auxiliary language which is to be proposed for official recognition will be left to the international conference. The Association is perfectly neutral in regard to the various systems of universal language.

Only in the event (which is hardly to be anticipated) of no government being willing to assist in the summoning of a diplomatic preliminary conference unless a complete language system is presented, does the Association reserve for itself the appointment of a committee of experts. This committee, to be selected from universities, technical colleges, and chambers of commerce (and in all cases only from bodies which are strictly neutral in the matter of auxiliary languages) would choose a language system with a view to proposing it to the govern-

ments, but the final recognition of the language would under all circumstances devolve upon the universal language congress to be summoned by the governments.

Since the Association, in its appreciation of the rightful claims of every nation to its own ideals, is quite convinced from the outset that its object is the realisation of *greater practical facility in intercommunication*, and that all mere linguistic or literary trifling must be avoided, the Universal Language Bureau, as we conceive it, *will not do the smallest harm to our living natural languages* (no one of which would ever be accepted as a recognised means of general communication on account of national jealousies). On the contrary the amount of time and energy which most people would save would rather tend to further the study and employment of their own national language. *An artificial auxiliary language is the only solution of this purely technical problem* and all sound efforts to strengthen national characteristics and improve the cultivation of national languages will benefit by the fact that the universal language will not in any way compete with the national languages in their own special domain. The auxiliary language is only intended for international intercourse, and is of a purely mechanical nature, just like the musical notation. *Such are our guiding ideas.*

The movement for a universal language does not aim at driving out the natural languages, but merely at the introduction of an auxiliary idiom which may bring about an easier understanding between all nations and at the same time have the advantage of expressing conceptions in a manner less ambiguous and more generally intelligible than is possible in the case of words in our natural languages, since these carry with them many vague connotations. The fields in which a universal auxiliary language is an incontestable want are Science, Technology, Commerce and Travel.

From a technical standpoint the universal language problem may be regarded as solved. There exist several language systems which have proved irrefutably that it is possible by means of an auxiliary language to bring about oral and written intercourse between persons of the most widely different nationalities of the civilised world.

Competition between different systems had at first the advantage of throwing light from every direction on the principles involved, so that

at present a satisfactory degree of clearness prevails in this respect. But now the question is to put an end to the struggle between rival systems, which is growing dangerous, and to find an issue out of the embarrassment over the choice of the system which should be universally adopted. This can only be done by a supreme international authority, universally recognised and officially invested with adequate power, and to constitute this is the task of the Association for the Creation of a Universal Language Bureau.

The question as to which of the suitable systems eventually receives official recognition is of minor importance in comparison with the pressing need of uniformity of system, with which the practical success of a universal language stands or falls. This achieved, the Universal Language Bureau will see to all subsequent necessary developments.

EXTRACT FROM THE STATUTES OF THE ASSOCIATION

1. OBJECT

The Association for the Creation of a Universal Language Bureau is an international Union. Its object is to prepare and promote diplomatic action with a view to establishing a Universal Language Union between the various nations and creating a Universal Language Bureau whose duty it shall be, acting for the Union, to introduce, develop and apply an officially recognised international auxiliary language.

The Association, as such, maintains the strictest neutrality in regard to existing systems of international auxiliary language or any which may subsequently come into existence. It refrains from any propaganda in favour of individual systems.

5. MEMBERSHIP

Applications for membership must be made in writing, and accompanied by a declaration of adherence to the statutes. Moreover

- a) Private persons engage to pay yearly a minimum subscription of 10 francs (for persons residing in Switzerland a minimum of 5 francs)—“individual members”.

- b) Corporate bodies (clubs, public boards, firms, etc.) engage to pay a minimum yearly subscription of 50 francs—"collective members".
- c) Private persons or corporate bodies can attain membership by the minimum payment in one sum of 100 francs—"founders".

Honorary President: Colonel *Emil Frey*, Ex-Federal Councillor, Director of the International Bureau of the Telegraph-Union in Berne.

President: Dr. *A. Gobat*, National Councillor, Director of the International Peace Bureau in Berne.

Vice-Presidents: Professor *Wilhelm Ostwald*, Privy Councillor, member of the Royal Saxon Academy of Sciences (Gross-Bothen, Leipzig).

Anton Waltisbühl, Manufacturer (Zürich).

Aristide Rollier, Judge (Berne).

Secretaries: *F. R. Schneeberger*, Clergyman (Lüsslingen).

H. Behrmann, Director of the Official Information Bureau (Berne).

Treasurers: *Eugen v. Büren-v. Salis*, Banker (Berne).

Ernst Witschi, of the firm of Eugen v. Büren & Co. (Berne).

Ordinary Members: *Ernst Brand*, Doctor of Laws, Advocate (Berne).

A. Dünzer-Ischer, Engineer (Berne).

Ed. Elskes, Engineer, Director of the Portland Cement Works, St-Sulpice (Val-de-Travers).

J. Hirter, National Councillor, Representative of the Bernese Association for Commerce and Industry.

A. Kohler, Merchant, Representative of the Commercial Association (Berne).

K. Hugo Locher, Swiss Union Bank (Berne).

Professor *Rich. Lorenz*, Physical Society, Frankfurt a. M.

S. Lustenberger, Journalist (Berne).

Fred. C. Lüthi, Secretary of the Legation of Switzerland in Washington, U. S. A.

Professor *A. Thürlings*, University of Berne.

All written communications to be addressed to The Secretary's Office of The Association for the Creation of a Universal Language Bureau, Berne.

408.9. INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE

(III) In the initial note in this number, we give a short account of the steps taken to promote the creation of a Universal Language Bureau in Switzerland, under government control. That project, as stated, is absolutely neutral as between the several auxiliary languages now seeking popular favor. But in the Editor's opinion, formed after several years' study of the problem, the strongest and most worthy candidate today for official recognition is the international language Ido, which is so nearly natural that many people can easily comprehend it at once without study. During the Third International Congress of Refrigeration, in Chicago (September 17-24, 1913), the Editor had occasion to speak in Ido to several foreign delegates who had never studied that idiom but who experienced no difficulty in understanding the remarks. This occurred not once only, but many times, and thereby demonstrated the entire practicability of Ido. Considerable progress has been made in the compilation of international commercial terms which if made available would be of incalculable value to the world of commerce. The whole question is attracting the attention of serious students. The *Scientific American Supplements*, in May and June, 1910, contained the following remarks regarding the scientific collaboration which led to the development of Ido:

"The result is a language (Ido) which may be mastered readily by anybody and which has this advantage over other artificial languages, that it is based on rational, scientific, technical principles, and therefore is not exposed to the danger of being supplanted by the creation of a still better and materially different language." (From *Scientific American Supplement* 1798 for May 28, 1910, Page 346.)

"Esperanto has suffered because it has fallen into the hands of scientifically untrained persons, and sometimes into the hands of fanatics." (From *Scientific American Supplement* 1798 for June 18, 1910, Page 398.)

"The language of the Delegation (Ido), is very capable of expressing difficult passages with all possible fidelity." (*Ibid.*, for June 18, 1910, Page 399.)

(112) All libraries should subscribe to *Progreso*, the monthly magazine published in Paris, since March, 1908; devoted to the im-

partial scientific discussion and perfection of the international language. Price \$1.40 per year. English agent: Guilbert Pitman, 34¹/₂ Coombe Road, Croydon, London.

630. AGRICULTURE

(113, 52) *The City Club Bulletin*, Vol. vi., No. 9 (Chicago), for June 9, 1913, contains the address by Professor Aaron Aaronson, of Haifa, Palestine, on the "Discovery of Wild Wheat."

656. TRANSPORTATION

(114) I seek information about an alleged corporation in Sweden which insures the shippers of perishable goods against loss or damage in transit. Can any reader give the name and address of, or any particulars concerning, such a company?

E. M.

(115) On demandas plena informi pri ula korporaciono en Suedio qua asekuras la sendanti di fruktĉ, legumi ed altva perisiva produktaji kontre perdo o domajo dum transporto.

E. M.

800. LITERATURE

(116) Some ten years ago (1903?), I saw a book, about 8" x 6" x 1¹/₂", bound in green cloth, probably published by some English or American concern. It contained the 'Rubaiyat' in English and German verse (latter by Bodenstedt, I think), also in French prose by Nicolas. What is the publisher's name?

J. L. T.

Perhaps this is the book desired:

"Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám. English, French and German translations, comparatively arranged in accordance with the text of Edward Fitzgerald's version, with further selections, notes, biographies, bibliography and other material collected and edited by Nathan Haskell Dole. Printed for and published by the Joseph Knight Company, Boston. 1896. 2 Vols. \$3.50."

The Librarian of Congress, and Mr. C. B. Roden, Assistant Librarian of the Chicago Public Library are thanked for replies.

808. QUOTATIONS

(117) The authorities for various quotations are sought by Mr. Everett R. Perry, Librarian of the Public Library, Los Angeles, California. (The source of many quotations is given in the pages of *Notes and Queries*, London, 1849—to date.)

900. HISTORY

(118) The history of the western portion of county Tyrone, Ireland, is of interest to Mr. James F. C. MacDonnell, 545 East 167th St., New York City.

917.94 GEOGRAPHY AND TRAVEL (CALIFORNIA)

(119) Mr. Everett R. Perry, Librarian of the Los Angeles Public Library, would be willing to answer queries, within reasonable limits, about California.

927. MODERN ARTISTS

(120) Information concerning modern artists would be welcomed by Mr. Everett R. Perry, Librarian of the Public Library, Los Angeles, California.

929. GENEALOGY

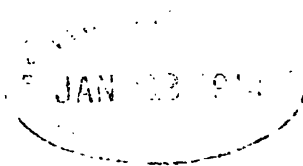
(121) Mr. MacDonnell, mentioned in previous item No. 118, is studying the Genealogy of the Carolan, Carlin, Carland or Kerlin family.

(122) Nicholson family of Maryland, etc., 1750, 1780, 1812, to date: Is any one preparing a genealogy of this family?

NOTES

The Editor did not see the proofs of the last two numbers. This fact and the regrettable illness of the publisher must serve as excuse for the few typographical errors which occurred.

The hesitancy or diffidence of our readers, as to contributing notes and queries to our pages, is the explanation of the limited amount of material presented.



VOL. XVI

No. 6

THE
MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

WITH
NOTES AND QUERIES

Americanus sum: Americani nihil a me alienum puto

JUNE, 1913

WILLIAM ABBATT

10 LIBERTY ST., POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y.

AND
410 EAST 32D STREET, NEW YORK CITY

Published Monthly

\$5.00 a Year

50 Cents a Number

THE MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

WITH NOTES AND QUERIES

VOL. XVI

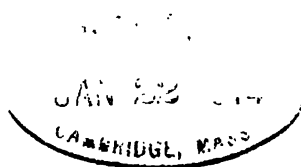
JUNE, 1913

No. 6

CONTENTS

ACADIANS AND ACADIANS	W. C. GAYNOR	221
THE ERA OF GOOD FEELING	CHARLES NEVERS HOLMES	236
WHERE MOTORLAND BEGAN	XENO W. PUTNAM	245
JACKSON AND CALHOUN	CHARLES NEVERS HOLMES	252
CAYUGA AND SENECA AS PROPRIETARIES IN THE ANNALS OF NEW YORK	GRACE ELLIS TAPT	260
MINOR TOPICS:		
The Old Weather Man		264
Washington at Yale		265
A Poe Secret		266
Ancient Ball Invitations		269
Lexington: 200 Years		270
Historic Structures of Vermont		274
NOTES BY THE WAY:		
Barbara Frietchie's Grave		276
Gideon Foster, Patriot		276
Nancy Hanks' Grave		277
Stonewall Jackson's Flag		277
Had an Adventurous Career		277
Kitson's Iowa State Memorial		278
Washington at Springfield		278
Relics of General Custer		279
The "Deerfield Captive" in Vermont		280

Entered as Second-class matter, September 11, 1913, at the Post Office at Poughkeepsie, N. Y. Act of Congress, March 3d, 1879.



THE MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

WITH NOTES AND QUERIES

VOL. XVI

JUNE, 1913

No. 6

ACADIANS AND ACADIANS

THE Acadian of Louisiana—the Creole Acadian, let us for the moment call him—is blood-brother to the Acadian of ancient *Acadie*, and to the Acadian of Maryland, Ohio, or Quebec for that matter. The two are descendants of the same sires and equal inheritors of the tragic memories of 1755. Their family names are identical; their baptismal or personal names derive from the same narrow list of eponymous saints; they speak the same peculiar *patois*, with its refrain of the sea. In a word, the two are of the same parentage, possess the same inherited traits, and their blood currents run with congenial similitude.

Upon this background of racial and parental identity it will be of interest to portray the contrast which time separation, and the determining influences of climate, government, and immediate environment have worked in this people in its two principal branches. They have been held apart through the decrees of Fate now about a century and a half. What we may style the elder branch,—the home branch,—has clung to its ancient seats. It may be taken, then, to represent the Acadian people as it would now have been in its entirety if no such divulsion as that of 1755 had occurred to disperse and retard it. This Maritime Canadian branch, because it is larger and more fully developed in what it is pleased to call its national life, offers a fair subject for the study of the influence of a sane government along monarchical lines upon a primitive and patriarchal people of a different race; while the Louisiana branch, in turn, presents us the same people influenced in a different political direction by democratic institutions, and thus affording us an object lesson in the contrasting of results.

Other influences, of course, have had their share in establishing this noteworthy contrast. There has been—and is—a notable variation in the depth and character of the religious atmosphere as it enveloped one or the other of the two coeval branches. It would be

futile to quote the fact that this should be one of identity,—the guiding and civilizing influence of the great Church to which both parties pay allegiance. The Church of Quebec should be—as it is—the Church of New Orleans. Yet even here we shall discover a very material difference between the constant solicitude of the one and the supine indifference of the other. It was a matter, no doubt, of men and measures, of greater zeal and more love; of condescending contempt—on the part of the Southern Church—conjoined with the listlessness of inefficiency.

Climate, too, must come in for its share of credit—or discredit—in effecting this contrast. The heats of a Canadian summer and the rigors of a Canadian winter have had a determining influence in their way, upon the northern Acadian; while a semi-tropical sun has for a century and a half shone uninterruptedly on the Acadian of Louisiana. Then, if it be true that

“Southern climes are not made for northern men,”

the deported Acadian who was forced to make his home in the South has suffered physically and mentally by the change. He is not the man his father was.

The contrasting influences, therefore, with which we have to deal in this article—the pigments we are to use—are principally environment—in the restrictive sense of political surroundings and of neighbouring nationalities (the latter an imitative effect); the tell-tale factor of climate, and the physical character of the land each party occupies; and, finally—what should be an influence of identity rather than of contrast—the attitude of the Church, in different countries, towards the same Catholic people.

It is a noteworthy fact that—religion and its more intelligent practices apart—the Acadian of the South comes closer to our authentic conception of the original Acadian of the Expulsion than does his brother of the North. In the nature of things we could hardly expect this. Through travel, vicissitude, exposure, the Southern Acadian has been put through the turning-lathe of fate. Under such conditions one can hardly expect him to remain true to type; yet he does, and much more noticeably true than the other. The pastoral picture which Longfellow drew of the Acadian of “Acadie, home of the blest”, can no longer be verified “on the shore of the Basin of Minas” or elsewhere near

the Bay of Fundy. It can be verified, however, two thousand miles away, on the "sultry Southern savannas" of the Tèche, the Atchafalaya, and in the region of the Atakapas. There we find the identical aspects of life, the same jealous segregation, the same unalterable attachment to patriarchal customs, the same primitive virtues—everything, in a word, except, perhaps, the same ideal regard for religion.

Still our photograph must be a composite if we would picture the first Acadian. We must draw on northern sources for certain lights and configuration of countenance; we must superimpose the real Land of Evangeline upon its southern namesake, in order to bring out a satisfactory picture. Let us first, however, delineate the original Acadian so far as history enables us to do so with safety. His personality is necessary to perspective:

He was a fisherman—a *pêcheur de bateau*—who lived, of course, close to the sea, and while farming on a small scale, depended more on his seines and weirs and wherries for sustenance than on his land. He was a fisherman-farmer. Hence his lack of the more ambitious virtues, his aversion to tumult and strife, and his sturdy physique. Hence, too, his language, overcrowded with metaphors drawn from a seafaring life. By nature he was intensely religious—as most fisher-folk are likely to be. Scarcely was he comfortably settled on the woody margins of his fishing grounds when he himself and the land he occupied became the plaything of two great nations. France and England contended for the possession of *Acadie*, with but contemptuous thought for its occupants. The Acadian was French,—therefore he must be held to his French allegiance: so France thought, and so she planned to hold him, not so much on the plea of nationality as of religion. Her adversary was the great Heretic and Supporter of Heresy; therefore, he must be deeply imbued with fear of heresy and hatred of it. So he was modeled to fear the heretic, to be suspicious of everything that smacked of change or newness. It was but an accident that this frame of mind accorded with his own innate prejudices. This traditional distrust of the genial heretic, even in our day, still clings to him and insensibly impedes his acceptance of modern conditions. He is, while intensely social within the boundaries of clan, still averse to promiscuous friendships.

Our historic information ends here. We must therefore supplement its meagre outlines by drawing on living sources that are at hand.

In the South we find entire Acadian communities living their own segregated life apart from the great currents. Patriarchal rule is the condition of public or civil life in such districts. The voice of the elders is final law. They are in turn guided by immemorial tradition, of which they are strict enforcers. Ambition or desire for change, it is unnecessary to repeat, meets with no encouragement: the community is a law unto itself. What was good enough for the father, is good enough for the son.

This law of clan (if I may so term it) creates a sort of family solidarity in the community. The individual is rendered charitable in his general attitude towards other members; he becomes deprecatory and apologetic towards the frailties of his neighbour. But this does not mean that he is willing to wink at the sins of others; he has no thought of bearing with the vices of his neighbour and thereby making them his own. Yet he hesitates to condemn outright or at first blush, no matter what the fault may be. He waits for detailed and authentic proof. If questioned at such a crisis, even by some one who has an acknowledged right to know, he hesitates to admit the sufficiency of rumor; if pushed to extremity, he gravely and soberly admits an *on dit*, perhaps,—but immediately qualifies it with an *on verra*: he offsets a say-so by the wise admonition to wait and see.

Taken by-and-large, this Southern Acadian is a charitable fellow, worthy of imitation in this regard. But let some social crime be fully established,—let us instance the rare case of seduction—our grave and kindly Acadian becomes an inflexible judge. The young man is haled before the governing committee of elders, and quietly ordered to remove himself from the community, a certain limit of time being allowed him to make good his departure. There is no “gunplay” as elsewhere in Louisiana—no shot-gun marriage; nor does the unfortunate girl suffer afterwards from stigma or blight of reputation.

It is evident that we have here some of the ancient practices and customs of the fathers—patriarchal laws and restraints brought directly from *la vieille Acadie*; for Louisiana is at once too easy in its morals and too tyrannous in its temper to admit of anything similar. Add to this picture of patriarchal life the religious trait,—so characteristic of the Canadian, so strangely lacking in the Southern, Acadian—and our composite is finished. The Acadian of the North is a church-goer; he

is likely to be something additional,—a chancel chorister. Garbed in cassock and surplice, he is apt to be one of the mass-singers, stalled within the very sanctuary. Nay, if he be old enough and sufficiently grave and reserved, he may rise to the dignity of a *marguiller*, or vestryman, and hold even a key of the *coffre fort*. He is thus charged, in part, with responsibility for church finances.

And so our picture, drawn broadly, shows us a primitive character; simple and wretchedly single-minded according to our modern standards, but religious and sound of heart; patriarchal in his ideas and naively just in his judgments; clannish, if you will, and distrustful of strangers and of change; obstinate and hard-headed, we may add; charitable, kindly, and long-suffering; no angel, in a word, but a good man, with the shortcomings of the ordinary mortal.

Such was the Acadian of 1755, when the knell of Fate sent him to his doom. Just how far he himself, directly or indirectly, contributed to his own destruction, we do not propose to discuss. No doubt he was in part to blame. He was French, after all, and the English were English and heretics. It is natural to sympathise, in time of struggle, with men of our own blood and breeding. He may have unwisely advised by his spiritual guides—the French priest is usually a Frenchman first and a priest only in the second place. But there is one feature of his case that relieves him of all direct obloquy, granted that he should remain loyal to his religious convictions. He could not conscientiously take the oath that was offered him as the price of his safety under British rule. He could not forswear God and his religion by subscribing to the bigotry of that oath. This much is historic fact, let what else be said.

In any case, wherever the blame lay, the Basin of Minas witnessed in 1755 its one unparalleled historic tragedy. We will not attempt to picture the despairing sorrow of this primitive people, so attached to hill and valley and fishing-ground, as from those alien decks they saw the bluffs and mountains of their native land sink from them into the sea; their homesickness, made ten-thousand times more unbearable by the uncertainties of the dismal future; or the piled-up accumulation of individual sorrows, occasioned by the heartless lack of sympathy on the part of their captors, who made no studied effort to deport members of the same family in the same ship. All this we pass over. It is too

harrowing, too heartless. Its counterpart can be found only in the Sacred Books which record the sufferings of the exiles of Judea.

We pick up their trail when it leaves the water, and follow it many a weary mile. In Massachusetts first, where the exiles receive hospitality; further south along the Atlantic coast; then in Maryland, where the heart of the colony goes out to this helpless people and persuades some to remain; again in Mobile—and here, glimpse of sunlight! they are welcomed by a priest of their own race, Father Ferdinand, Capuchin and first Acadian priest of authentic history. We have not time to follow those who were carried to Guiana, or those who were deported to France—by-and-by we shall discover all these either returning to their native shores or coming to Louisiana or seeking covert in Quebec. Nor do we know with exactness the number of souls that were deported. It may have been between six and eight thousand, as the early historians say, or it may have been the full eighteen thousand which the Acadian historian Richard claims. We are interested rather in those who came to the far south. In Mobile, we find the first record of their arrival in 1763. Some families must have chosen to remain in this virgin district, for we find their familiar names long afterward in the famous *Registres Paroissiales* of the cathedral of that ancient city—and, what is much less to their credit, we recognize in the half-breed 'Cajuns of the woodland districts of the present Alabama the offspring of the miscegenation of Acadians with Indians and negroes.

Our interest centres rather in that small band of exiles which in the spring of 1764 landed from their rough canoes at the Place D'Armes—now Jackson Square,—in New Orleans. The Spanish records tell us that they were only twenty-four in number, but the Spaniard in such cases did not count the women and children; they were negligible quantities. New Orleans at the moment was a French city, temporarily under the Spanish flag, yet both French and Spanish were Catholics. Their hearts alike opened to those piteous exiles; to the one they were of his own blood, to the other of his own faith. Suspicion was justifiable if it thought that perhaps they were martyrs of the faith.

Provision was at once made for their comfort by public and private contribution; later they were allotted lands on the bayous and alluvial bottoms, not far from the city. The French colonists were especially and jealously insistent that due succor should be given the exiles. It

was a period of unrest and agitation in agitative New Orleans; the forcible expulsion of the Spanish Governor, Don Ulloa,—for which some of the chief agitators should afterward lose their heads—was soon to follow; yet the helpless Acadians were not lost sight of in the upheaval that followed. One of the severest charges brought against the unfortunate Don Ulloa in 1768 by the National Council was that he sent back to New England three Acadian families who came to the colony at their own expense, and that he had threatened to sell other Acadians as slaves. The racial struggle at least helped our exiles.

The number of arrivals had in the meantime increased, for we find that in February, 1766, two hundred and sixteen others had come. They were at once supplied with farming implements and settled along the Mississippi, between the German Coast (so called) and Baton Rouge. Later the exiles of British Guiana succeeded in making their way to Louisiana, thus swelling the number. In 1787 the census taken by Governor Miro shows an Acadian population of one thousand five hundred eighty-seven souls—souls of men, let me insist, for the Spaniard did not count women and children. About the same period the annual government donation to the Acadians and Islenos (Spaniards from the Canary Islands) amounted to \$173,338.

Thus were the forefathers of the present Acadian population of Louisiana established in a land which in its climate and soil, and in the habits and texture of its people, differed widely from their old home on the *Baie Française*. As the years count, it is not so long ago. Men are still living whose grandmothers could tell of the sorrows and distress of that awful time when as children they saw their mothers' tears, and were barely old enough to sense the tragedy of their elders. Being a prolific race, they soon increased in numbers, and began to spread out and fill the land. Along the bayous on the southern coast, on the alluvial plains in the centre of the State, where

"grass grows

More in a single night than a whole Canadian summer"

in scattered but compact communities, in unexpected localities, they are found today throughout the State, perhaps 45,000 in all. Wealth and poverty are both found among them, yet more poverty than wealth. They are, like the most of their fellow citizens, rebels or the children of rebels, upon whom Fate laid a second time its heavy hand perhaps in just castigation. Louisiana suffered more from rebellion than any

other State, perhaps because it was at once more vixenish and had more to lose; and its Acadians, as they were not backward in the fight, so they shared equally in the material losses entailed by that mistaken conflict.

Turn we now to the Acadian of the Expulsion who did not suffer himself to be expelled, but clung to his native shores through good and evil fortune,—the Acadian of the Maritime Provinces of Canada. There must be one-hundred thousand of him or more within the boundaries of ancient Acadie—Nova Scotia and New Brunswick—and in Prince Edward's Island. He escaped deportation at the outset because the cordon of British soldiery was insufficient to surround the country in which he ranged; or because he doubled back from Massachusetts or from the mainland of the Atlantic where he had been set down; or because he eventually returned from France to Quebec and thence to his old home. During the weeks of detention before the transports were ready or available, large numbers managed to avoid the bag net of the British—it is difficult to outwit woodsmen in their native haunts, and the British soldier of that day was not especially quick-witted. The interminable forest trail led from their doors to depths and mysteries of woodland secresy appalling to the European; the warlike Micmacs, who did not love the English, were friendly and sympathetic; succulent meadows there were far from the coast wherein they were wont to pasture their farrow cattle in summer, and much of this kind of live stock was still there. Instinct had warned them in time not to trust blindly the purposes of the British,—to hover on the outskirts, to read the signs of English purpose in the unusual array of nondescript vessels:—in a word, to avoid capture for themselves and their families.

They pushed, therefore, into the interior, into wooded fastnesses whither no soldier could follow, and there on inland lakes, on the headwaters of great rivers where the hunting was good, they built rude woodland shelters for themselves and their stock—now swelled to respectable proportions by the addition of the “unearned increment” of cattle running wild and ownerless. Some, more daring, still clung to the sea-coast, and on the edge of the great salt marshes,—which appeared to the inexperienced eye like swampy meres or slob-lands ready to engulf the timid wanderer—built cabins of earth and sods. The sea was at their doors, and the slob-land had no terrors for them. Others, again, crossed the great wilderness that lay between them and the Miramichi, where,

overtaken by winter, they tunneled into the soft sandstone of the river bank and excavated warm dens for themselves and families. These caverns still stand, historic emblems of that sorry time.

In such wild shelters they lay hid until the English mind could recover its balance, as it was sure to do. The capture of Quebec, by removing French power from the land, opened up a hopeful epoch for them. Within a very few years—so few that we glimpse the after-regret of the British government for its barbarity—they were free to take up lands under the King's grant. As early as 1765 we find them doing this. Thenceforward, with but accidental renewal of the old persecution, they were free to cultivate their holdings in peace. It is true that technically they were yet more or less under the ban of outlawry, but men are ever better and more humane than their principles, and their English masters did not worry them much.

In the years succeeding these unhappy events time went quietly on with this peaceable people. After 1785 the country began to fill up with other races; in New Brunswick especially the Tories of the Revolution, —exiled and ostracized in turn,—under the name of Loyalists occupied some of the best lands, to the forcible exclusion a second time of the devoted Acadians. The British soldiery were once more employed to harass and dispossess them, in order to hand over their lands to the favored newcomers. The French settlers on the St. John River, where at Saint Ann's especially they had founded a thriving community, were stripped of their lands, driven from their homes at the point of the bayonet, and several of them murdered. They then migrated, flocks and herds—what was left to them—across country to the sea shore of the Northumberland Straits.

For more than half a century afterward they remained a secluded and practically unknown people, cultivating their lands, wresting sustenance also from the sea as of old, and represented, for the most part, in the social life of the Provinces—in matters of government particularly—by Irish or Scotch representatives. The country was at first ruled by governors, appointed in England and sent out by the crown, usually men of honorable records, who tried to be just and equitable towards all. These royal nominees were held strictly accountable for their administration of the affairs of the colonies, yet the people could hardly be said to have had a voice in the government of themselves. It was a

form of government best suited to a new and sparsely settled country, in which the machinery of popular representation did not as yet have that background of intelligence and self-control so necessary to sane ruling. Responsible Government—so called at the period—came in due time, and then the Acadians found their rightful place as equivalent factors in self-government.

It is not necessary to enter into a detailed account of their subsequent development. Education is wide and general among them. They have their own colleges and intermediate schools. The French language is taught with the approval of the Government—and this in an English Province. Placed as they are in the midst of a stalwart population of English, Irish, and Scotch extraction, and living in a climate which does not incite to heady deeds, they have learned to know their rights and to enforce them, while at the same time emulating their fellow-citizens in the moderation of their political views, and equalling them in their capacity for representative self-government.

In resuming, after this necessary historical interlude, our purpose of contrasting these two peoples, so differently circumstanced both geographically and physically, it is not desirable to emphasize again their unison of heredity. We shall simply bear it in mind, for without it there would be nothing apposite in the contrast. We have glanced at the history of each, have seen what each suffered and underwent. We have seen that the Acadian of Louisiana was helped and supported by public and private beneficence; whereas his northern brother was left to depend on his own resources, to bear his own share of the ills of outrageous fate, so sink or swim, starve or abound, as it pleased him. Yet he is today far advanced beyond his southern brother in intelligence, in free and self-asserting citizenship, in civic and political acumen; in the learned professions, in commercial life, and in that more restricted and select area of Christian endeavour, the ministry of the great Church to which both belong.

We may well ask, not why this should be, but why it is. The answer lies near the surface: it *was* a question of churches; it is *now* a question of education. The exiled Acadian came to Louisiana; his religion was a passport to public sympathy because it was the religion of his fellow citizens; for one hundred and fifty years he has lived in this distinctly advantageous position that his religion has never been a

drawback or impediment to him—he has not been ostracized on account of it. The Acadian of *Acadie*, on the contrary, was openly oppressed and persecuted—primarily, let us concede, because of his nationality, secondarily and more effectively perhaps because of his religious beliefs. He has had to subsist in the presence of this hostile attitude of those who had the power and the will to degrade him; for almost a hundred years—or until the “fighting race” came to his assistance, no co-religionist was there to hold out a helpful and protecting hand to him. But Quebec all the time nourished him in spirituality; she kept her missionaries in his settlements; she kept alive in his heart the torch of religion; and when political conditions changed and he began to come into his own as a free-born British subject, at the wave of her hand (or at least under her inspiration) educational institutions were established for his social betterment. It matters somewhat, perhaps, that this inestimable gift of educational opportunity was secured to him through the generous co-operation of the same “fighting race”, the Irish, who taught him to be a man.

How different the attitude of the Southern Church towards the Southern Acadian! She burned with no zeal for his salvation, she lit no torches for his guidance. With an *insouciance* that is incredible she left him to subsist—like some hibernating animal—on his own religious resources, to draw on the accumulation of his pre-exilic religiousness for his present religious life. She was too busy with her own internal disorders to give thought to him. “Educate him—why no! the thought is preposterous. This is a bit of continental Europe set down in the wilderness of America. The common man has no claim to be educated,—this Acadian least of all.” And so he was left without education, without training, without the intelligence necessary to envisage even his own needs. Nay, even worse, so far as the character of his Catholicity is concerned. The close relationship between Church and State in those early days succeeded in conveying to his primitive mind a wrong impression of the relative importance of the one and the other. It still requires diplomacy to make him believe that a civil marriage before a justice of the peace is not better than marriage before the priest. It is unnecessary to interject that such a frame of mind is inconceivable among Northern Acadians.

Has the Southern Acadian degenerated physically? If residence in a semi-tropical country for many years can acclimate a man, surely

the "Creole" Acadian has been acclimatized—has he suffered in the process? It is evident that he has, although the sapping of his racial strength is only now becoming apparent. He has degenerated in bodily size, in height, in weight in strength of limb. His old men are gaunt yet powerful, tall, and originally well set-up; their sons and grandsons—the latter, especially—are human runts, their womankind anæmic. Sooner or later this degeneracy must overtake every son of the North who tempts the dangers of a blistering climate, of miasmatic and malarial mud-lands. The Acadian already shows the proofs of his exposure to the morbid influences of the land he lives in,—Land of Mud, Malaria and Mosquito.

Physically and mentally, therefore, the Northern brother is the stronger and better equipped. Climate and soil are both wholesome, and they compel to greater effort. Winter brings rest and recuperation; there is not eternal sunshine,—malignant, as if the sun bore you a personal grudge. Moreover, he is a self-made man, who has worked out his own problems without aid from the State. In the struggle he has found self-reliance; he lives in the midst of virile and aggressive races, and so he has also learned aggressiveness and thrown aside his native human respect. "What we have, we hold," is his motto equally with the other races of the Empire.

In thus availing himself of his opportunities the Canadian Acadian shows how wise and clear-headed the race can be. The Louisianian does not yet show the same temper. He is not so adaptive as his Northern brother. He is more sluggish, more fatalistic, and more dependent. Misfortune and illiteracy have made him distrustful of novelty or change; his prejudices make him halt by the wayside. He is the medieval man of his own Norman race, living in the twentieth century; a reversion to type—or, perhaps, better, a continuation of a special type of the eighteenth century. To him, in this regard, his Northern brother is a perfect foil, an instructive contrast because of the underlying common heredity.

It would be invidious and unfair in me were I to pass over as if they had no existence the great body of educated Acadians of Louisiana. Their number is legion, and equally with their *confrères* of the north they demonstrate the intellectual ability of the race. If there is a Landry on the Supreme Bench of New Brunswick, there is a Chief

Justice Breaux of the Supreme Court of Louisiana. For the moment we will forget that his mother was Irish. In political life, too, in Louisiana, Acadians have reached high positions. There was a Governor Mouton and a distinguished general of the same name. There are many professional men of high standing scattered throughout the State,—judges, lawyers, doctors,—and in commercial callings many business men of credit and position, all of whom are of Acadian descent. But, notwithstanding these pleasant admissions, the fact remains that these scions of Acadian blood are, with a few notable exceptions, lacking in that loyalty to their stock which distinguishes and ennobles the educated Acadian of Canada. He is with his people, and of them; their sorrows are his sorrows, their triumphs are his own; he is ready to fight for them at the drop of a handkerchief. The contagion of his clan loyalty is breezy and infectious. The Southerner, on the contrary, is liable to forget his origin in his elevation. He does not care to be known as a 'Cajun, he wishes rather to be recognized as a Creole. In Louisiana, this title connotes descent from the old aristocracy of blood,—the purely French and Spanish descendants of the original settlers and founders of the State. And yet the Acadian was in Louisiana before the Spaniard, and his blood is of purer and cleaner strain than that of many a Creole whose forbears came from the galleys and prisons of France, convicts on parole.

In approaching the question of political contrast—or rather of contrast growing out of different political conditions, I confess to some hesitation. It is a contrast that arises from eminently distinct systems of self-government. Were it even true that the democratic idea as held in Louisiana was identical with the same democratic idea as held—say in Massachusetts—I would feel freer to discuss the subject; but the conception of a democracy as it filters through the French-American mind of Louisiana differs *toto coelo* from the same concept as held in the North. Louisiana was never yet in the United States, if it is to be judged by its bizarre idea of democracy. It stands on the edge only. This fact will, I trust, explain why it is impossible to place the northern Acadian in the same category with his brother—or, in fact, with any other Southerner when it comes to an estimate of his democracy. He stands head and shoulders above them all. Living as he does under a saner democracy, he has developed along wiser lines; he has a greater and more intelligent conception of the sanctity of law, of the inviolabil-

ity of personal freedom within right bounds, of the sacredness of human life. Moreover, he has shown a marked genius for government. The Acadian of Louisiana, on the other hand, having been so long the puppet of fate and plaything of fortune:—at first a Spanish subject, then nominally a subject of France; afterward an American citizen while holding, in common with the Creoles, all Americans in horror; citizen of a State that pushed so-called “state’s rights” to the wildest extremes; a rebel and secessionist—and incidentally a good fighter; again a sober American citizen; yet all the time under the wildest vagaries of human thought in this one matter of how to govern himself,—has come out of this political witches’ cauldron, either with an utter indifference to his own rights as a citizen or unduly magnifying them, according as he is illiterate or educated. In this latter case, he swells the Babel of clamors for an impossible Utopia, and raises his voice to high heaven for the things that are impossible.

The interesting problem of blood, as manifesting itself in such different ways according as environment and other influences compel its direction, finds thus an instructive exemplification in the case of these dissevered branches of the Acadian stock. In its contradictions it forces us to acknowledge the contrast between what it was and what it is, between what it stands for in one country and what it represents in another; to what development it can attain, and to what insignificance it can descend; yet how evenly it can run in both parties when a fight is on—when Mansfield or Shiloh or Gettysburg is to be fought, or the less sensational but certainly no less valiant fight for social and political rights must be waged in a more wearying arena. We can hardly believe it to be the same Neutral People, whom the French objurgated for their cowardice and the English contemned as spiritless. Neither French nor English were right in their estimate of this peculiar people. It was not cowardice, it was not a craven lack of spirit, that lay behind their stolid refusal to aid either party. In the evidence of later times we can read that it was rather a hardheaded common-sense, which led them to avoid if possible, committing themselves to either side. The land was theirs, and they wished these warring intruders well off it.

To the Acadian of the north—we can at once perceive —the future glows with hope. His destiny is yearly becoming more clearly outlined. He is cultivating what he calls his “nationality”,—his sentiment of racial solidarity, of linguistic unity, of separate yet intelligent

aloofness without ceasing to be inspired from the same fountains of political wisdom as his fellow citizens of other nationalities. It is not within the scope of this paper to predict whither this attitude of his will eventually lead, or to say whether it is the truly patriotic one, taking the word to mean what is for the greater good of a united people of several races. For better, for worse, however, such is the tendency of his course, and this tendency grows all the more important from the fact that slowly but inevitably he is coming back to his own, to the possession and population of the land from which his forefathers were so ruthlessly expelled. To the Acadian of the south no such dazzling prospect opens out. He is fated to extinction. He has no leaders to give him inspiration or awaken in his soul racial ambitions. He is looked on as a negligible quantity, as a harmless, an incapable freak, a by-product of France in her moments of futility. The genius of the country frowns down all thought of separate national existence; its aim is to amalgamate and unify, to produce a composite man who shall be the true American. All the current of thought runs irresistibly in this channel; legislation is guided by it; laws are interpreted in the light of it; even religion—the religion of the Acadian himself—contributes its powerful coöperation to realize it. Thus the contrast still holds good. The time is not so very far distant when the Acadian of the South will be but a memory, so submerged and lost shall he have been in the amalgam of races. To the sentimentalist this may appear regrettable, but the inevitable brushes aside sentimentality.

W. C. GAYNOR.

ST. BENEDICT, LA.

THE ERA OF GOOD FEELING

ON THE 4th day of March, 1821, there was re-inaugurated as the fifth President of a young and growing Republic, a gentleman of industrious, genial and very generous disposition. He was, moreover, a gentleman widely experienced in public office and in politics, being just prior to his first inauguration his predecessor's secretary of state. In the national election of 1816 he had received no fewer than one hundred eighty-three electoral votes, his rival—Rufus King, a Federalist—having only thirty-four. In the election of 1820 this fifth President—for the Republicans of that generation had at last almost exterminated the Federalist party—received two hundred thirty-one electoral votes, every electoral vote except one, which was cast for another Republican, John Quincy Adams, by a New Hampshire elector who seems to have felt that no president other than the beloved “father of his country” should be chosen unanimously. This fifth President was James Monroe, the last of the remarkable “Virginia succession” which since the organization of our government had been continued by the people, with the single exception of John Adams of Massachusetts.

James Monroe was born in Westmoreland County, Virginia, April 28, 1758; but died in New York, on the Fourth of July, 1831. He was descended from a Scottish cavalier family; and at eighteen entered the College of William and Mary, but soon left to enlist in the cause of the American colonists. In 1776, he became a lieutenant in a Virginian regiment, and served in the campaign on the Hudson and in New Jersey distinguishing himself during the battle of Trenton, where he was wounded. He also served in the campaign of 1777-8; and returning to Virginia was elected in 1782 a member of its state legislature, while from 1783 to 1786 he was one of the Virginian representatives to the Congress of Confederation. After this, he was re-elected to the legislature; and in 1788 was a member of the State Convention to ratify the Federal or National Constitution. In this Convention Monroe joined with Patrick Henry and others in objecting to and opposing certain so-called centralizing features of the Constitution. In 1790, after this Constitution and the American government were in operation, Monroe was elected to the United States senate, until 1794, and, as might be expected

he was an Anti-Federalist, in strong opposition to Washington's federalistic administration.

In 1794, Monroe was appointed minister to France, as the successor of Gouverneur Morris; but his personal feelings towards France being far more friendly than those of the administration, he was succeeded in 1796 by Charles C. Pinckney of South Carolina. His career, however, had really just begun, for in 1799 he became governor of Virginia, and in 1803 President Jefferson sent him as a special envoy to France, where associated with Robert R. Livingston, the purchase of the great territory of Louisiana was accomplished. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that Monroe's further career abroad—both in London and in Madrid—was less successful and certainly disappointing.

In 1810, he was again a member of the legislature; and the following year he was once more chosen governor of Virginia. On April 2, 1811, he became secretary of state under Madison, and this position he retained during the remainder of Madison's administrations, acting, also, as secretary of war (October 1, 1814, to February 28, 1815). In both these offices—especially during the military campaigns against England in 1814-15—he was alike energetic and successful. In 1816 he was elected President of the United States; and in 1820 he was popularly re-elected. At the close of his presidential career, he retired to private life (1825), taking up his residence at Oak Hill, Loudon County, Virginia; but his natural generosity and extensive hospitality incurred too great debt, and he withdrew to New York City where he had relatives. Here he died, in 1831, just as Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, upon the Fourth of July; his remains being removed long afterward to Richmond (1851), where they were interred with most appropriate ceremonies. In religious preference, Monroe was an Episcopalian; and in his vocation a lawyer, although he withdrew from law when a young man for the duties of public office.

In its widest sense, the so-called "era of good feeling" really began with the first administration of President Monroe and ended with his second. But, in a stricter sense, and perhaps more truly, this era of good nature and contentment belongs wholly to Monroe's second administration. Historians differ respecting the date and time of this agreeable period; but that it deserved its title among the people at large is not to be doubted. We Americans were politically just begin-

ning our first serious growth; as a nation we were neither man nor boy. It was an era just before the troublesome appearance of certain economic and financial problems, and an era when the people of our country were willing to take a little rest—as though to prepare themselves for the strenuous discussions of tariff, state rights and southern slavery. The ship of state had been successfully launched, so to speak; it had encountered the calms and tempests of its maiden voyage; and it had arrived safely at last in its first harbor; and the captain and crew were in a condition of tranquil contentment, ere they left that harbor to meet and weather the calms and storms of the next voyage.

The citizens who guided our ship of state during the real era of good feeling, were the chief magistrate, James Monroe; the vice-chief magistrate, Daniel D. Tompkins of New York; the secretary of state, John Q. Adams of Massachusetts; the secretary of the treasury, William H. Crawford of Georgia; the secretary of war, John C. Calhoun of South Carolina; the secretary of the navy, Smith Thompson of New York and, later, Samuel L. Southard of New Jersey; postmaster general, Return J. Meigs, jr. of Ohio and, later, John McLean of Ohio; attorney-general, William Wirt of Virginia; chief-justice, John Marshall of Virginia; president *pro-tempore* of the senate, John Gaillard of South Carolina; and the successive speakers of the House of Representatives, Philip P. Barbour of Virginia, and Henry Clay of Kentucky. These excellent American citizens were the chief guardians of our youthful country's welfare; and occupied their respective positions during this era of amity which lasted from March 4th, 1821, until March 4th, 1825. Prior to March 4th, 1821, there existed a spirit of good-will and good-feeling throughout the general mass of the so-called common people; and this spirit was even increased from 1821 to 1825, from the beginning of Monroe's second administration to the beginning of John Quincy Adams's first and only presidency.

At the beginning of this third decade of the nineteenth century, our youthful nation possessed an area approximating 1,800,000 square miles, that was divided among twenty-three states and divers territories; its population numbered around ten millions of people; while its national wealth was problematical—perhaps two billions of dollars. Upon this population and wealth there was a public debt of some \$90,000,000; and we imported and exported respectively \$74,000,000

and \$69,000,000 of merchandise, a total foreign commercial trade of \$143,000,000. As an interesting and instructive comparison, the exports and imports for the year 1911-12 may be quoted: the exports amounting to \$2,326,000,000 and the imports to \$1,749,000,000—a total trade of \$4,000,000,000! It is also interesting and instructive to state that from 1792-1847 our Republic produced only \$25,000,000 in gold and only \$400,000 in silver; and, of course, it will be easily understood that other ores were mined, during the first part of the nineteenth century, in like proportions. And the national conditions of that time are well illustrated by the small population of what are today great cities; the metropolis of New York containing in 1820 fewer than 125,000 inhabitants, Philadelphia containing 63,000, and Baltimore 62,000. In the matter of immigration, also, it has been estimated that from 1789 to 1820 an approximation of only a quarter-million aliens entered our country, an approximation that should be compared with the annual immigration of recent years, that of 1907 (1,285,000), for a large example.

Thus it will be seen that this present vast and adult Republic was in 1820 a mere stripling, so to speak, that had not attained its growth, but was just at the point of suddenly and rapidly developing into a powerful man. Uncle Sam, even at this period of his life, was not to be despised; but contrasted with our Titanic country of this century that comparatively small republic of the nineteenth was significant only in the promise of its national future. Its finances were still in the elementary stages; its credit though sound and healthy was not yet robust beyond disaster; it possessed the most patriotic and loyal of citizens, and citizens that could win battles in warfare, but so did other nations; its Constitution and system of free government although so far a remarkable success, had been in operation only about twenty years and a large part of the Old World's population was justly skeptical respecting the ultimate result of so new and novel an experiment. It was true that this modern Republic had already encountered and triumphed gloriously over some very threatening crises; but that might not mean the same successes and victories in the future, indeed internal difficulties and dissensions might sooner or later arise to disrupt the new Nation. But, nevertheless, at the beginning of Monroe's second administration, the most discouraging critics had to admit that the future prospects of the United States of America looked very bright, and that it was truly an era of national good will and good feeling.

It was indeed just the time for such a good-natured era. The country was enjoying excellent health, and comfortable freedom from some recent worries and care. The Republic possessed a Chief Magistrate of a soothing and agreeable disposition; in fact his inaugural address of 1817 had greatly pleased and placated what remained of the Federalist party, and he had followed this inaugural address with a tour through the New England states, where he had been welcomed with the heartiest enthusiasm. The second war with England was over, and the glorious results of its naval battles still filled the Yankee mind with good nature and contentment. It is true that the unfortunate embargo and this war had at the time caused much bitter sectional feeling; but the peace completely put an end to this feeling, and the reaction from warfare to tranquillity increased the national good will and contentment. Moreover, there remained no political issues to stir up heated discussion and personal strife; and the old Federalist party had well nigh gone out of business. Besides, it was sometime before the argumentative spirit of the tariff and discussions over internal improvements arose to arouse and vex the contented people of the Republic; and it was also generally believed that the recent Compromise had settled for good the disquieting and radical difference of opinion respecting free- and slave-territory in the American nation. It was not to be wondered then, in view of the kindly spirit of peace and prosperity that smiled upon the land that this period between troubled and strenuous times should be known as the era of good feeling, and should very often be looked back upon regretfully by those of our citizens who had dwelt amid it.

During these pacific administrations of James Monroe, no really stirring events occurred. It was perhaps an era of internal construction. A short time after his first inauguration, the President had made a most careful personal study of his country's needs and condition; and, as a result, he used his administration influence in improving coast defences and in strengthening the army and the navy. He also endeavored to develop and increase the Republic's resources, to protect commerce, and to provide better and more effective public service. Moreover, like many men as they grow in years and experience, Monroe had changed his earlier opinions on at least one important matter, and seemed to depart greatly from some of the influence of Thomas Jefferson. As has been stated, he began his career as an Anti-Federalist;

but as President of the United States, he was an advocate of nationalization, that is, of creating a more centralized government. Perhaps this change of mind was partly caused by being the Chief Executive of the central government, partly by the spirit of the times and certain Supreme Court decisions which had lessened the powers of the individual states and increased those of the United States. Monroe was also a believer in commercial protection and public improvements, although the tariff schedule of 1816 was unsatisfactory and in 1822 he vetoed a bill for certain repairs of a state highway. As would be expected, the Republic prospered most encouragingly under so peaceful and efficient an administration; national wealth and influence were increased, five states were admitted to the Union, and our country really commenced that tremendous expansion that has carried her flag from Atlantic to Pacific, from the far east to the far west.

Nevertheless, at one time during Monroe's administration, a sort of cloud threatened to disturb the serenity of this remarkable era. The question of slavery had not been satisfactorily adjusted; and after Mississippi (1817), Illinois (1818), Alabama (1819), and Maine (1820) had been admitted, there arose a sharp controversy over the slavery-status of another territory which desired to become a state. This territory was, of course, Missouri; and the famous "Missouri Compromise" was one of the most important political events during the administrations of Monroe. This Compromise dispelled for a while the cloud threatening to disturb our country's serenity, although it only soothed, as a temporary measure, and merely delayed a further discussion of a vital national question. Briefly, the Missouri Compromise provided for the admission of Missouri as a slave state (August 10, 1821) with the provision that all territory west of Missouri and north of latitude 36° 30' should forever be free from slavery. As we know, this first compromise was repealed in 1854, owing to changed conditions; but at the time it was supposed to have settled for good and all the boundaries of the free and slave sections of the country, and, accordingly, the resulting feeling of relief at this temporary adjustment of so vexing a question caused a further increase in the prevalent amity and contentment.

Another political monument to this administration, and the chief—perhaps the only—reason why so many of us remember James Monroe today, is the so-called "Monroe Doctrine". In a way, this was a

corollary of Washington's policy of strict neutrality towards European politics; and ex-President Jefferson, some two months before the issuance of the administration Message which suggested the Doctrine, had written: "Our first and fundamental maxim should be never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe. Our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with Cis-Atlantic affairs." The time and the occasion seemed to be just right for the publication of such a Doctrine. Russia had obtained territory along the north-western coast of North America, and her government had issued a decree forbidding all foreigners to approach within one hundred miles of the American coast, north of the fifty-first parallel of latitude. This aggressive action of the Russian government was somewhat disquieting to not a few of the people of the United States, and it was feared lest Russia should extend her political influence too far south of the territory of Alaska. Moreover, Spain was having trouble with her American possessions, and, not being as successful in quelling these insurgents as she could wish, there arose rumors that certain European nations—namely, France, Austria, Prussia and Russia—were preparing to assist Spain in chastising her rebellious dependencies. Monroe's secretary of state was very insistent respecting a firm protest against such foreign interference; and accordingly the President, in his seventh annual message (December 2, 1823), declared: "As a principle in which the rights and interest of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent position which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers." Also: "We owe it to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With existing colonies and dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence, and maintained it, and whose independence we have on great consideration and on just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States." Such are the essential declarations of the famous Monroe Doctrine; whose

true advocate and author is supposed to be Monroe's successor and secretary of state, John Quincy Adams.

The purpose of this Monroe Doctrine was, of course, to warn Europe against any interference with the republics of Central and South America; and, also, to declare, forcibly that henceforth "America—north or south—was for the Americans!" Naturally and justly, the American government would not interfere with previous foreign colonies and possessions; but it would in the future be firmly opposed to further extension of European territory in North or South America. The Monroe Doctrine was cordially received from the first by the people and politicians of our country, and, as Webster said some two years afterwards, "The tone which it uttered found a corresponding response in the breasts of the free people of the United States." The Congress of that day, however, would not sustain it by any formal action; and to-day it is neither national nor statute law, remaining merely a Presidential declaration regarding the policy of our republic towards foreign interference or attempts to wrest new possessions. But the national safeguard embodied in the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine has strongly commended itself both to the people and to the government of our country; and it has, on several occasions, during the administration of President Polk in 1845 and afterwards, been proclaimed to protect the territories of North and South America.

The era of good feeling lasted until the close of Monroe's second administration. That is, this spirit of peace and good nature dwelt generally all over the United States, in the hearts of the so-called common people; but among the politicians there were smouldering the fires of personal ill-feeling and political intrigue. Just as this era of good feeling followed the hatred and storm of war, so this era preceded the animosities and conflicts of crises and politics. During the close of Monroe's administration, certain factions and leaders were scheming to control and occupy the next presidential chair. Three of the members of Monroe's cabinet were among these factions and leaders; namely John C. Calhoun, John Quincy Adams, and William H. Crawford. It was indeed an era of only one party; but that party was like a house divided within itself. In 1824 there occurred the last important measure of Monroe's administration—the Tariff Act; and, on March 4, 1825, James Monroe retired from public to private life, followed by the best wishes and respect of his fellow-citizens. In the meantime, there had

occurred a strenuous Presidential election, between Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, Henry Clay of Kentucky, and William H. Crawford of Georgia. As a result of this election, although Jackson received more electoral votes than any of the others, there was no "majority candidate", and the election was, therefore, decided by the House of Representatives which chose Adams as the sixth President of the United States.

Thus ended the era of good feeling. Although the future history of our country can hardly be designated as an era of *bad* feeling, it has since the administration of Monroe recorded no such long period of peaceful contentment as that enjoyed from 1821 to 1825. When Lafayette visited us in 1824, he chose a most fortunate time, and must indeed have been impressed by the prosperity and amity everywhere around him. But our Nation was rapidly growing; and new and perplexing problems, as well as more complicated situations, were in the future to loom up before our ship of State. The era of good feeling came at the right and natural time, and was presided over by a Chief Magistrate excellently adapted to and fitted for such an era. This era came, lingered, and passed away; other eras have come, lingered, and departed; but it is indeed a pleasure occasionally for an American citizen of these intricate, modern times to sit and ponder upon the earlier days of our Nation, when men were more simple in their lives and ideas, and one's country was not a Titanic, sleepless, complex, and world-wide Republic.

CHARLES NEVERS HOLMES

NORTHAMPTON, MASS

WHERE MOTORLAND BEGAN

HISTORIC ground is of peculiar interest, whether it commemorates a passage at arms or an industrial achievement. If the latter, it is of special importance to those phases of human activities that have developed out of it. Such a spot there is, buried in a quiet valley of northwestern Pennsylvania, almost unknown to the outside world, but within which not so very many years ago was enacted some of the most weirdly fantastic history known to romance and out of which issued one of the most important forces of commerce, petroleum; the genie of the gasoline engine, the motor car, our conquest of the air.

We seek its gateway near Oil City. Before us lies a shallow creek; on either side a sky-line of cliffs and rock-strewn mountainettes, fringed at their base with tangles of dark-leaved laurel or of bright-cheeked rhododendron clusters, which blend, with scarcely a break, into their own shadows mirrored in the stream. Let us close our eyes. Fitting into the picture as perfectly as a sweet-toned organ fits into the music of an anthem, the flowering bushes stretch away into phantom streets and specter cities; the voices of the wilderness become lost in a clash of busy anvils and the muffled thunders of the drill; the mountains teem with life. Out of that absolute solitude descends a struggling fleet of barges which choke to its fullness the meager capacity of the stream. A rainbow-tinted film spreads over the water's surface. The valley is filled with the pungent scent of oil.

Ahead of us, far up the valley, near the head-waters of the stream gleams a star over the birthplace of a great industrial genie that is presently to make the motor boat, the air-ship and the automobile possible. Does not such historic ground as this invite a quiet thought?

For her own work Nature has no limitations. Whatever she may lack in details she makes up in exhaustless resource, and speedily restores by her untiring energy the balance of any disturbed values. The shallow waters of Oil Creek, variable almost as the clouds that fed them, she found ample for her valley workshop. When man borrows from her energies, he must adapt himself to her conditions or provide his own supplies. The pioneer oil-man found this true a half-century

ago, while waiting helplessly for a rise in the stream to carry his petroleum-laden flat-boats to market. So the explorer of today, if he would penetrate far into the wildernesses of this valley, must carry along with him whatever he requires.

Oil Creek Valley, stretching some twenty miles between Titusville and Oil City, includes practically the entire oil field of the world during first decade of its history. An ascent of this valley then means to the thoughtful man the passing in review of perhaps the most romantic chapter ever written in the story of human industry. What matter to the reflective mind if these historic giants have been silenced, or that the original wilderness has almost resumed its sway? History wears her pet robes most becomingly among her own ruins. A closing of the eyes at any point along this valley route clothes these absolute solitudes with busy life and blends the present with the past in gratifying harmony.

Two miles above Oil City the ruins of McClintockville awaken a passing interest. A generation or so ago it was described as a feeble imitation of the then busy oil town from which we started. It had at least its hotel, its boarding-houses, its refineries and its slums. Its main attraction for us today is in its location; it is our first glimpse of an abandoned oil town. It never held a commanding position, being merely a distributing station for the supplies of the farm, with its hundred or less wells. Still there are some places of considerable geographical importance today that do less business than McClintockville did in those early "sixty" days.

A mile above this village of ruins, just below the point where Cherry Run once poured her avalanche of floating fire into the tortured waters of the creek, lies Rouseville, not quite abandoned, although little more than a phantom of its halcyon days. Banks, hotels by the dozen, stores, theatres and churches once flourished here, along with other commercial facilities of a great city. Here residences of a substantial character sprang up and the place became a town of 10,000 or 12,000 people. Here, only a stone's throw to the north, the Widow McClintock farm once poured an income of more than \$3,000 per day into the pockets of the famous "Johnny" Steele, who proved his ability to empty it out again a little faster than Nature could produce it. Here many a spendthrift "gusher", coming unexpectedly, threw its entire output

recklessly into the air until the fields around, and not infrequently some portions of the streets themselves, were floating in wasting oil. Here finally occurred the first great oil fire of history, wherein as an awful warning, a score of lives were suddenly snuffed out.

The history of a single acre of ground, lying only a little to the right of Oil Creek, up Cherry Run, is typical of oil-field activities. This land was almost without value; the first sign of productiveness it ever showed being the Reed well, struck in 1864. Out of that strike the working interest alone realized \$785,000 cash within ninety days, and one-quarter of the land interest soon afterwards sold for \$280,000. Three other wells were afterwards drilled on this one acre of ground, from which something like \$2,000,000 was realized. All of the original operators, poor but energetic men, retired from this richest farm for its size the world ever saw, still energetic but no longer poor. Even the corporation which finally purchased the place at liberal figures made money out of it in abundance.

Today that acre of ground could probably be purchased for less money than would be required to clear it of brush. The derricks of its golden age are gone; not a trace of the celebrated old Reed well remains. Rouseville herself has dropped back to a mere village, but Fortune has not been wholly unkind to her. While some of her more pretentious neighbors have been wiped wholly from the map she still exists, a crumbling relic of her past. A few of the old wells still produce a little, enough to keep alive some of the old traditions; it is like the dripping of the forest leaves after the storm has passed. Several times the town has been fire-swept. What remains of it is little more than a record,—and a relic. Some of the surrounding farms have been abandoned, some have been sold for taxes, a few have been reclaimed for the reaper and plow. The Widow McClintock farm, still producing a little, is said to have passed into the hands, a few years ago, of a man who as a boy blacked "Johnny" Steele's boots. In her halcyon days the Rouseville wells produced oil enough to have submerged the town. Now their united output is barely sufficient to float a respectful memory of the oldest living oil-town in the world.

Continuing up the creek through this suggestive desolation, we pass the Widow McClintock farm, where occurred the original tragedy from which probably sprang our time-worn newspaper jests regarding

an oil-can, a servant girl, and a kitchen stove. The Rynd farm, just beyond this, is not without its haunting specters of past giants, but we hasten forward to where Cherry Tree Run, a small mill stream from the west, adds its little contribution to Oil Creek's supply of water, as it formerly gave its quota of petroleum to the product of the valley. Beyond this lies the Blood farm, another millionaire-factory of considerable importance but restricted fame, because of its wonderful neighbor, the Tarr farm, next above.

If the history of Oil Creek valley is a romance, the chapter devoted to this farm supplies the climax. James Tarr, a poverty-stricken teamster-farmer whose hundred acres of rocks and rattlesnakes refused to yield him a living until he adopted lumbering as a foster-child, was one morning seated at his breakfast of fried pork and Johnnycake when Herman Janes, a wild-cat oil prospector, almost knocked him from his chair by offering him \$60,000 for his place. That was by far the largest cash transaction ever made in oil territory up to that time, and it was occasioned by the Delamater and Noble well, then drilling on the Tarr farm, having just reached the sand with a good showing for a three hundred barrel producer.

Down so near the edge of the creek that we might almost tie our boat to the crumbling relics of the old "rig", was the famous Phillips well, a three-thousand barrel "gusher" that reduced the price of oil in a day to less than a tenth of the cost of the barrels needed to contain it; close beside it the Woodford giant, between which and its mighty neighbor long waged a bitter war that passed into oildom's records as historic. For months the entire output of these two great producers, along with many other wells, was allowed to swell the shallow waters of the stream because, at the market price, the oil was not worth saving. The Phillips well occasioned the first important instance of oil litigation, and, strange to say, the bone of contention was not the oil itself but the barrelling of the output. Out of this case Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton received a fee of \$25,000 for his services in arranging a compromise.

On this historic farm, too, the first experiments were made in pipeline construction, and here were the headquarters of the great teamsters' rebellion. As fast as the line was put down it was destroyed by the overland transporters, but the pipeline finally prevailed. It was

on the Tarr farm also that the first organization was attempted for the controlling of oil prices; the forerunner of the great Standard Oil Company.

The Tarr farm produced some \$20,000,000 of oil in five years' time and sent a number of men home with fortunes. A town of several thousand people sprang up, in which Janes erected one of the finest hotels ever built in the old oil country. There were a number of churches stores of all kinds, theatres, schools, and many, very many resorts of a more questionable nature; but the end was sure. The great Phillips well continued its wonderful production for upwards of a year and was a profitable pumper for more than twenty. There is a tradition which claims that on the day Tarr died, a retired millionaire in 1871, the oil well ceased to produce. Most of its neighbors had been abandoned long before. The few that remained, as though disheartened by the failure of their king, soon gave up the fight, and today, as we pause on the stream at a point where the old Phillips derrick with its attendant city of tanks once threw its shadow, we find the glossy-leaved laurel, crowned with its pink-white beauty, taking the place of theatre and church, an occasional skeleton frame of what was once a dwelling scattered in.

The Story farm, that we next pass in our journey northward, might have been of itself an industrial wonder if some of its more sensational neighbors could have been restrained. Perhaps its greatest claim upon our attention lies in the fact that Andrew Carnegie made his sole petroleum venture here. In his belief this wonderful Oil Creek valley was only a freak of nature that would soon be exhausted, in company with others, he purchased this farm for \$40,000 and then proceeded to construct a large pond or reservoir, capable of holding 100,000 barrels. This, it was his plan to fill with oil before the supply gave out and then hold in crude storage until the end of the production brought the beginning of high prices. The golden project lacked only two links of success: The pond leaked terribly and wasted several thousand barrels of oil; and still the supply refused to exhaust. But the great Scotchman and his partners made well enough from their investment, their cash returns within a year amounting to more than one million dollars.

As we continue past these dethroned monarchs, the slanting sunlight mingles its golden tints with the reflections of the bushes and sky.

The same mirroring surface a half-century ago, coated with the wasting seepage from surrounding wells, radiated every color of the rainbow in richest aniline hues; today's realism is a subdued reflection of yesterday's fantasies. The scene becomes so redolent of the past that we half expect to be confronted with an advancing sheet of flame, lapping the shimmering liquid from the stream's surface, as in the old days' with fiery tongues. The deserted woods on either hand are rich in decaying relics. Occasionally we see a bit of rotting timber, the remains of a fallen derrick, peeping out from the bushes. Every half-moon sweep of the creek (and its course is little more than a succession of them), reminds us that the flats it encloses once trembled under the hammering of the drill. Every shallow brings into mind a procession of suffering horses, straining under the merciless lash, among the slippery stones that cover the bed of the creek, as they drag their unwieldy flat-boats laden with oil. The glamour or romance fastens to these wooded solitudes as a whole and silences our interest in individual things. To single out a single object would be like separating a single tone of sweetness from a song.

About midway on our journey we pass Petroleum Center, once an important oil metropolis; now scarcely more than a memory and a ruin. The landscape changes a little here. A small hill, set off by itself, and once an island between two branches of the stream, has been united to the parent cliff by an abandonment of the old circuitous route for the more direct one; a strange choice for Oil Creek to make.

Our day is rapidly reaching its close,—more rapidly than is our journey,—so we somewhat hastily pass the Boyd farm, Pioneer, Shaffer, each handling its millions of commerce in its time; each reduced to nearly the same rank at last by the great leveler. The shadows of the present lengthen among the specter shades of a half century ago. Between the alder banks that fringe our course gaunt and bleeding horses of that other time are churning the stream to a foam again, encouraged a little in their effort by the approaching end of their journey—or of life. Somewhere, among the heavy shadows of these banks, a specter locomotive with its clumsy tanks rushes to take up at Shaffer the cruel loads that the worn-out teams have laid aside. Above the croaking of the frogs we hear the pulse-beats of the pipeline, steadily forcing itself with every heart-throb of the pumps into the dictatorship the steam route has lost. As we leave these ghosts of successive periods behind

us in the deepening twilight toward Watson's Flats, the Mecca of our pilgrimage, we seek almost unconsciously for that receding star which called us, beckoned us, at the beginning of our path. We wonder what will be its form on near approach.

Our little creek divides at last, and at the confluence of its two branches a point of land comprising several acres was formerly cut off by an artificial channel. Here, fifty odd years ago a tall, dark pioneer, frail of body but mighty of will, stood watching the steady drop and lifting of the cable; and it is a reminiscent vision of his kindly patient face that finally takes possession of the scene and hovers like a star above the "Old Drake Well". A little aside the ruins of a mill, then in the prime of its activity, keep solemn guard beside a bit of casing that projects a little from the ground. Shall we go further?

Before us lies Titusville. We turn from the spot so near its rim whence the genie of this little valley was first released from the imprisoning earth, and seek out Woodlawn Cemetery. There, standing before a stately pile of granite, in the last fading rays of daylight we have barely time to read the inscription:

DRAKE

then the star that was our guide, the patient face, enwrapped in the swarming shadows that were his, blend into the night that is our own, and disappears.

XENO W. PUTNAM

HARMONSBURG, PENN

JACKSON AND CALHOUN

TWO almost utterly different personalities were associated during the early development of our Republic; two individuals who were different one from the other in family, in training, in education, and in general disposition. Two individuals alike in personal sincerity and honest patriotism; and alike that this sincerity and patriotism were their own, influenced and moulded by entirely dissimilar environments. On the one hand, there was a man risen from the lower ranks of the so-called common people; on the other, a man belonging to far higher family and social associations. On the one hand, a physically powerful, self-made, unrefined, often profane, very strenuous, and violent-tempered personage; on the other hand, a personage of comparatively weak physique, well-born, refined, industrious, calm-tempered, and logical. The one was a natural genius; the other was more an artificial genius. What the first possessed, the other did not possess; but both were leaders of men; both were to engrave their names in our great and wonderful history.

These two remarkable characters met as strong friends; and parted as stronger enemies. Each was born in the South; Andrew Jackson in North Carolina, John Caldwell Calhoun in South Carolina. One, because of territorial changes, became a citizen of Tennessee; the other remained a citizen of his native state until his death. Andrew Jackson was born on March 15, 1767; John Calhoun on March 18, 1782. The former was of Scotch-Irish descent; the latter of Irish Presbyterian ancestry. Jackson was not a college graduate; Calhoun was a graduate of Yale in the class of 1804. The former was successively a public prosecutor, a senator of the United States, a judge of the supreme court of Tennessee, a general in the army, an Indian fighter, a statesman, and twice President of the United States. The latter, a representative in the South Carolina legislature, elected to Congress in 1811, and, from 1811 till the time of his death—nearly forty years—either a member of Congress or of the Cabinet. Jackson died near Nashville, Tennessee, in 1845; Calhoun in Washington, D. C., in 1850.

Of these two men, one would naturally select Calhoun rather than Jackson to be a President of the United States; but the reverse was true.

General Jackson was inaugurated the seventh of our Presidents, while Senator Calhoun had to remain contented with being the seventh Vice-President. Had the friendly relations between them continued, the latter might have been the eighth of our Presidents, instead of Martin Van Buren; but—alas!—a social controversy and an outspoken opinion in Monroe's Cabinet placed Calhoun in the same unlucky category as Webster, Clay, and many other ambitious American citizens.

As the close of Monroe's second administration was drawing nigh, several estimable and experienced gentlemen began to cast longing eyes towards the next Presidential chair. One of these gentlemen was no other than Monroe's then secretary of war, John C. Calhoun, and another of these ambitious individuals was Andrew Jackson of Tennessee. However, Secretary Calhoun decided that the Vice-Presidential half-loaf held in his hand was better than a Presidential whole loaf in the brier-patch, so he gracefully withdrew for the next term from Presidential aspirations, and was patted kindly, so to speak, upon the back by the political followers of both Jackson and Adams. Secretary Calhoun left these two gentlemen to fight the matter out between themselves, and, although Adams was victor, owing to certain influences in the House of Representatives, Jackson felt nothing save the kindest feelings towards the gentleman who had been born in the neighboring state of South Carolina. Naturally he had to wait some four years before he succeeded in turning Mr. Adams out of the presidential chair; but he did so in 1828, and, moreover, John C. Calhoun was also elected as his Vice-President.

Naturally, President Jackson was very well satisfied with himself and his country just after inauguration; but he had restricted his successful combats to the arena of mere man. Now it had happened that a certain senator from the state of Tennessee, John H. Eaton by name, had wedded, some two months before his appointment as Jackson's secretary of war, a "petite, pretty, vivacious and well-read" lady, widow of a Mr. Timberlake who had been a purser in the United States navy. And it had happened before the marriage of Mrs. Timberlake—who was formerly known as Miss Margaret O'Neal or often as Miss "Peggy" O'Neal—that not a few of the fair sex in our Nation's Capital were very jealous of Miss "Peggy", and that these same jealous ladies were very much pleased when they heard of her marriage to Mr. Timberlake. However, he unfortunately died; and the smouldering fires

of feminine jealousy burst once more. Indeed these flames burned a bit fiercely when it was announced that Mrs. Margaret O'Neal Timberlake was married to Senator Eaton, and that the Senator had just been appointed Jackson's secretary of war.

But this was not the last of it. It seems that two reverend gentlemen were anxious for President Jackson to know that there were certain occurrences in the life of Mrs. Eaton that should not have been, and one of these reverend gentlemen sent him a letter which did not speak highly of the former Mrs. Timberlake's character. Upon receiving this letter, the President acted promptly; but proved to his own entire satisfaction, after fully investigating the matter, that the charges were wholly false. Thereupon with characteristic independence the President endeavored to place Mrs. Eaton in the social position due her as the wife of his secretary of war.

But the ladies of Washington's society set were generally against such an attempt on the part of the President; and when President Jackson turned in despair to ask the assistance of Vice-President Calhoun—Mrs. Calhoun being one of the strong "antis"—the Vice-President would not come to aid him, excusing himself on the ground that it was "a quarrel among women". In this view of the situation, the Vice-President was undoubtedly correct; but General Jackson's natural gallantry towards woman, his innate obstinacy, and the recollection of the criticisms respecting his own marriage with Mrs. Robards, caused him to endeavor in every way to exalt Mrs. Eaton socially. But for once General Jackson was finally defeated, although ably seconded by his faithful secretary of state, Van Buren; and it is to be feared that the Washington ladies began to dislike him for his masculine interference. Mrs. Eaton remained in social ostracism; and her future personal history is that she married for the third time after the death of Mr. Eaton, an Italian dancing-master from whom she was divorced, and that she herself died in 1879. The whole affair seems absurdly trifling; but it was probably the first break in the personal and political friendship between Jackson and Calhoun.

But the real spark that set on fire the Jacksonian wrath against Calhoun was the General's discovery of the former secretary of war's attitude towards his invasion into Florida. At the time of that invasion (1817-18) Florida belonged to Spain; but this fact did not hinder

the impetuous American general from following some marauding Seminole indians across the Florida boundaries. And, once across, General Jackson seemed in no hurry to depart. He thoroughly thrashed the hostile Indians, and captured the towns of St. Marks and Pensacola; and, in addition, hung two British subjects, Alexander Arbuthnot and Robert C. Ambrister, thereby defying not only the wrath of Spain but also that of England. These very strenuous proceedings caused great excitement in the United States, where the people generally approved the invasion. But in the Cabinet there was at first a decided difference of opinion, for some of these statesmen foresaw possible trouble with Spain and England. In Congress, too, there was a long and serious discussion; but General Jackson won both in the Cabinet and in Congress on the matter, John Quincy Adams speaking in his favor in the Cabinet and John C. Calhoun declaring that Jackson should be tried by court-martial for his invasion, captures, and executions. It seems surprising to hear that Adams should thus advocate these acts of Jackson as much as that Calhoun should so strongly condemn them. Being a Cabinet meeting, the discussion was kept secret for some years; and no word of the court-martial opinions of Calhoun reached the eyes and ears of Jackson until a long time afterward.

So all was amity between these men until the little affair of *petite* and pretty Mrs. Eaton. The result of that was merely a sort of coolness and doubtless the soothing hand of time would have relegated its bitter memories to oblivion. Monroe's Cabinet was almost forgotten, John Quincy Adams had beaten Jackson for the Presidency, Andrew Jackson had defeated Adams for the Presidency, all was serenity, and—lo!—after these many years, a mere letter threw the President into a “towering rage.”

In this sad world of ours there are two apparently inoffensive and innocent creations that often cause the heart and mind of man a lot of trouble. The first is woman; the second is some written word or letter. In the case of Calhoun's loss of the Presidency, a social quarrel among women was completed by the appearance of a letter. This letter was sent by William H. Crawford of Georgia, who had been in Monroe's Cabinet at the time of Jackson's violent invasion of Florida. This letter stated some facts respecting Calhoun's real attitude towards the invasion; but President Jackson wrote him a note, enclosing Crawford's letter (May 13, 1830), demanding of Calhoun “whether it be possible

that the information given is correct." To this note from Jackson, Calhoun replied with a not altogether frank statement; whereupon the President wrote him that he "had too exalted an opinion of your honor and friendliness to believe for one moment that you could be capable of such deception. . . . I repeat, I had a right to believe that you were my sincere friend, and, until now, never expected to have occasion to say of you, in the language of Cæsar, *Et tu, Brute!*"

The Vice-President continued evasive for a while; but at last he was obliged to admit that "I was of the impression that you had exceeded your orders. I came to the meeting of the Cabinet under the impression that the usual course ought to be pursued in this case, which I supported by presenting fully and freely all the arguments that occurred to me." As would be expected, the friendship between Jackson and Calhoun was shattered for life; and, at the same time, all possibilities of Calhoun following Jackson as the President of the United States were completely ended. When Jackson finally and triumphantly retired from the office of Chief Magistrate, his political mantle fell, so to speak, upon the worthy shoulders of Martin Van Buren who had been so kind and courteous to poor Mrs. Eaton; and Martin Van Buren became the eighth President. But Jackson was an excellent enemy, and he awaited his opportunity to attack Calhoun still further.

The real battle in this war between Jackson and Calhoun took place over the tariff and South Carolina's attempted nullification of it. This was the tariff of 1828—the so-called "tariff of abominations"—and its provisions bore rather severely upon the commercial life of South Carolina. Naturally that state protested most vigorously, and Calhoun, as her most prominent statesman, issued three manifestoes against it. He even went so far as to resign from the Vice-Presidency and re-enter Congress—as a senator from South Carolina—where he spoke energetically against the injustice of the tariff. At the first of this controversy Calhoun wrote a paper which declared that "The United States is not a Union of the people, but a league or compact between sovereign states, any of which has the right to judge when the compact is broken and to pronounce any law to be null and void which violates its conditions." This paper was re-issued by the legislature of South Carolina, being called the "South Carolina Exposition and Protest" (1828); but the assertions contained in it were neither new nor original.

The discontentment in South Carolina over the tariff grew deeper and deeper as time passed by, and on November 19, 1832, a body of so-called *nullifiers* met at Columbia, and appointed a general committee of twenty-one members which was authorized to draw up an "ordinance of nullification". This "ordinance" asserted the right of South Carolina to resist the collection of Federal taxes, and the further right to withdraw from the Union if the Federal government should use force. Moreover, it designated February 1, 1833 as the date when South Carolina would prohibit the further enforcement of Federal tariff laws within its territory.

But already the thunder and eloquence of Webster's voice and the lightning and suddenness of Jackson's toast—"Our Federal Union! *It must and shall be preserved!*"—had descended fiercely upon the heads of Calhoun and his followers; and the whole country waited in breathless silence for nothing less than a Jacksonian avalanche in reply to the defiance of the nullifiers. The surprise was general then, when on December 11, 1832, President Jackson issued a mild, dignified, convincing proclamation which was both popular and welded the different elements of the union party into a unanimous whole. So different was it from Jackson's usual attack, that Henry Clay said that the spirit of the proclamation was not the President's but that of Van Buren and Livingston. However it was, this proclamation was one of the most popular state documents issued by a President, and a quotation from it at this point will be pertinent. This quotation reads: "I consider then the power to annul a law of the United States, assumed by one state, incompatible with the existence of the Union, contradicted expressly by the letter of the Constitution, unauthorized by its spirit, inconsistent with every principle on which it was founded, and destructive of the great object for which it was formed."

Nevertheless, despite this apparent tranquillity of President Jackson, he was already and well prepared for trouble. Messengers were in readiness in South Carolina to bring him at once news respecting any outbreak; provisions had been made for the instant arrest of Calhoun on the serious charge of treason; orders were at hand to declare martial law in and around Charleston; and there was the further intention of outlawing every man who had voted for the nullification ordinance or who took any part in its enforcement. The knowledge of all these warlike preparations, with perhaps the gentle intimation that the Presi-

dent had threatened to hang him as high as Haman or even higher than fifty cubits, reached the ears of Calhoun, for the President made no attempt to prevent the news of all these precautions being told to his adversary. It may be the sound common sense of Calhoun, as well as the soothing Presidential proclamation, and the hope that there would soon be a change made in the tariff, were responsible for there occurring no outbreak or riot around the first of February; and later, such a change in the tariff was made. These new tariff conditions put an end to any further warfare at that time with the nullifiers, although as we all know the question was left an open and tragical one. This new tariff bill was a compromise, being approved by both Calhoun and by Jackson who signed it. Of course, the President could have vetoed this bill; but perhaps he was pleased because there had occurred no outbreak in 1833, possibly he did not want to see bloodshed in his own country, and it may be that some influence like that which presided over the writing of the "nullification proclamation" persuaded him to permit the new tariff bill to become law. However it was, the black clouds which so threateningly hung over the southeastern part of our Nation were dispelled for about three decades.

The greatest of the battles between Jackson and Calhoun was over and Jackson was as usual the victor, although his enemy had retired in excellent order. But the President had utterly defeated his adversary for the next Presidency; and the war thus far had been personally most unfortunate for the statesman from South Carolina. But the war went on between these political giants; one ever opposing the opinions and contentions of the other. When President Jackson, in 1835, suggested to Congress to pass a law prohibiting "under severe penalties, the circulation in the southern states, through the mail, of incendiary publications intended to instigate slaves to insurrection", Calhoun vigorously opposed this suggestion, claiming that it would be an abridgement of the liberties of the press. However, in February, 1837, Jackson and Calhoun had their last direct conflict, the former writing a very abusive letter respecting certain remarks supposed to have been made by Calhoun on the Land Question. To this abusive letter, Calhoun replied sharply, characterizing it as an attempt "upon the privileges of a United States senator." Later, Calhoun delivered a speech on the relations between France and the United States, in which he expressed opinions entirely different from those advocated by Jackson. More-

over, when Andrew Jackson proceeded to remove the public funds from the Second United States Bank, John Caldwell Calhoun was decidedly against their removal.

The bitterness and bickering of this great political and personal war between two of the really great men of America has passed away, decades ago. Since then other political and personal quarrels have waxed and waned; and the present generation know only of the Jackson-Calhoun conflict through books or the story of some aged man. On the one side, as on the other, there were rigid obstinacy, much narrowness, and certain natural resentments common to all of us. It was, however, a battle of giants. That Jackson was the ultimate victor is true, and that the whole quarrel was a great loss to Calhoun is equally true. What the history of our Republic would have been had Calhoun followed Jackson as President is a problem; but fate did not so ordain it. Taken all in all, Andrew Jackson seems to have been a far more strenuous type than John Caldwell Calhoun, although the latter was far his superior in refinement and culture. The American public has always admired and followed the man of robust personality; and the President from Tennessee was really more powerful in most respects than the Senator from South Carolina. However, both did their share of work in moulding the destinies of our great Republic. Both loved their common country; but they beheld its Union of states from a far different standpoint. Both were sincere and rigidly honest, and one met the other in unyielding and unrelenting warfare. Today, the policies and politics of the first part of the nineteenth century appear to us vague and colorless; but the same human nature that dominated the fight between Jackson and Calhoun exists almost unchanged in the twentieth and the same conditions of political and personal conflict could with modern surroundings be repeated in this passing year of 1913.

CHARLES NEVERS HOLMES

NORTHAMPTON, MASS.

CAYUGA AND SENECA AS PROPRIETARIES IN THE ANNALS OF NEW YORK

THREE hundred years after the discovery of Manhattan Island by Hudson, there are still Indian land-owners in New York state. White settlers have crowded in on every side of Indian reservations, yet in western New York a town is built on part of the land still held by Seneca Indians, in regard to which controversy has continued for over a century.

Crumbling tree-rooted hillocks mark the last fortress on Cayuga Lake, and the Cayuga nation is remembered by names given natural objects or towns. The claim for annuity made by Cayugas dwelling among the "Seven Nations in Canada" is almost their only appearance in the history of today; while, as a tribe, the New York Cayugas are utterly broken and scattered through the reservations of the Senecas at Cattaraugus, Allegany and Tonawanda, and that of the Onondagas at the reservation named for them.

The war-filled history of the six branches of the Iroquois league is well known. The Cayugas, first sympathizers with the French, became British allies only after the battle of Oriskany in 1777. The following year they, with the Senecas, made the error of joining in the massacre at Wyoming. In return the army, led by General Sullivan marched up the valley of the Mohawk, through the lake country of central New York, and completely devastated the Cayuga territory, which received the first bitterness of their vengeance. The Cayugas, as a nation, never recovered from this blow. In the councils of the Iroquois they take a minor part. During the past century, however, in 1861, a Cayuga chieftain of New York, Dr. Peter Wilson, became Grand Sachem of the Iroquois, with the title, "De-jits-no-da-wah-hoh."

By the United States treaty with this tribe in 1789 the Cayuga territory was reduced to a hundred square miles, on Cayuga Lake, which they were to keep forever; but by 1807, poverty had obliged them to sell all but one square mile, called the Canoga Reserve, which also left their possession about 1850, after the departure to Canada of the chief O-ja-ghet-ti, who made his home there. The Cayugas, how-

ever, who migrated to Canada, are still a united band, living on Grand river, Ontario, since the beginning of the war of 1812. The clause on restoration of rights in the Treaty, signed at Ghent in 1814, between the United States and Great Britain, has been a matter of debate up to the present day. Lord Pauncefote's note accompanying the Cayuga petition, and Governor Roosevelt's negative reply are reported, with other facts, in the New York Senate Document, No. 20, 1899, and Assembly Document, No. 13, for January 10, 1900. Even more up to date is Assembly Document, No. 40, February 20, 1906, relating to Iroquois property rights.

A full record of the many attempts to obtain from the annuity of \$2,300, paid the Cayugas since 1795, a portion for the Canadian Cayugas, is given in the following Documents of New York state: Senate Document, No. 64, 1849, Dr. Peter Wilson's memorial concerning his bringing back Cayugas persuaded to go to the far west; Senate Document No. 58, 1890, his speech before the New York legislature, together with a long account of the cross-examination of many Indian witnesses, and their testimony on the present state of their nations; Assembly Document No. 51, 1889, and Senate Document, No. 35, for the same year, full data concerning the modern status of the Iroquois. The only report favorable to payment of the Canadian Cayugas seems to be given in Assembly Document No. 165, for March 16, 1849. Many references appear in other volumes, some of which are in Senate Documents, 70, 1847; 64, 1849; 81, 1853:—and Assembly Documents, 197, 1846; 55, 1848; 61, 1848; 165, 1849; 83, 1851; 26, 1853; 153, 1864; and 128, 1865. The granting of the claim would mean the payment of three-fourths of the annuity of \$2,300 to Cayugas who were British subjects, and the claim has not been granted, as these very Indians took part against the United States in the war of 1812.

That the Senecas have not admitted the Cayugas to participation in their land rights is seen in Senate Document 56, for 1853. The curious manner of inheritance among the Iroquois, by maternal descent, has caused the claims of many Cayugas to be taken up by Seneca men, who married Cayuga women. Dr. Wilson however, was a Cayuga on the maternal side, but if he had married a Seneca, it would deprive his children, if there were any, of claim to Cayuga bounties. Dr. Wilson's death, about 1872, took away the most noted of Cayuga chieftains. He helped them in many legal tangles, petitioned for schools and relief from

taxes, and was one of the founders of the Iroquois Agricultural Society, which held its first annual fair at Cattaraugus in October, 1860. As a nation the Senecas are ten times as numerous in New York as the Cayugas, although in Canada their numbers are about equal.

New York in 1786 and 1788 ceded the right to "preëmption of the soil west of Seneca Lake" to Massachusetts, the title being thus disposed of while the Seneca were still in possession, but the civil administration remained with New York. From 1818, legislative records detail the struggle for possession of this territory. This was a large and vague dealing with property which might at some future time come into market, but which at the time held the homes, the hunting forests and the small world of the Seneca kingdom. Massachusetts, however, soon disposed of these rights to two New Yorkers, Messrs. Phelps and Gorham, and they to Robert Morris. The last named seems to have conveyed the entire claim to the Holland Land Company, and they in turn sold it in 1810 to David A. Ogden. Mr. Ogden was at times associated with others of the same family name, first Gouverneur Ogden, then Thomas L., and the last finally entered into partnership with Joseph Fellows, who survived all the others to push the Ogden claim. However, the Seneca tribe was unwilling to be shoved westward to other hunting grounds. Half the tribe are now with others of the Iroquois at Grand River, Ontario, the first migration occurring about 1813. These with the St. Regis, who also had their troubles with the Ogdens, are known as the "Seven Nations of Canada." As early as 1806, the Ogdens endeavored to eject two tenants of the St. Regis Indians, who had 999 year leases, from islands in the St. Lawrence river.

Treaties in 1826 and 1838 ceded 197,000 acres of Seneca holdings, but the Indians declared that the latter treaty had been obtained by fraud. They presented, December 18, 1841, a petition, as they were about to be deprived of lands by the Ogdens, and this vigorous action of the agents of the Land Company may have been the cause of the idea of westward migration, to consider which councils were called in 1842 and 1846. If Dr. Abraham Hogeboom was an agent of the Ogdens is unknown to the writer, but that unlucky pilgrimage of his with two hundred fifteen Indians to Kansas and Indian Territory left the road strewn with dead. "More than half" were "consigned to mother earth", and their condition on reaching the borders of St. Louis attracted universal pity. A compromise was made in 1842, by which the lands

at Buffalo Creek, Tonawanda, Cattaraugus, and Allegany were released to the Senecas; while the right of preëmption of title was reserved to the Ogden Land Company and its heirs. The Senecas gave up Buffalo Creek later, and in 1846 the Ogdens tried to remove them from Tonawanda, and part of Allegany was sold in 1857. But that portion of Cattaraugus reservation on which the town of Salamanca is built, is only leased by the white man from the Seneca nation, as it cannot be sold except to the Ogden Land Company, and the Seneca wish to remain landowners.

Even at this date the tribal government continues among the Tonawanda Senecas. The main body of the Seneca nation has a constitution of its own, accepted in 1847, and revised in 1898. The Seneca are "lords proprietors" still of a portion of their ancestral lands. The New York Cayugas, forced to beggary by the conflicting claims of French and British, of England and her colonists, have lost their lands, but still survive in the dignity of pensioners.

GRACE ELLIS TAFT

NEW YORK

MINOR TOPICS

THE SAME OLD WEATHER-MAN

Whenever the weather man, nodding over his ungracious task, lets
his fingers wander drowsily among the keys,

And Winter suddenly, like crazy Lear,
Reels back, and brings the dead May in his arms,
Her budding breasts and wan dislusted front
With frosty streaks and drifts of his white beard
All overblown.

there are not lacking wiseacres a-plenty to tell us that things were not managed so carelessly in their day. In those halcyon times, if we may believe them, weather men never nodded, never pressed the wrong button, but always worked with one eye on the calendar and the other on the Old Farmer's Almanac. But in truth the "good old times" were not more halcyon in respect to the weather than in some other particulars, which shine through the mists of treacherous memory with a glory not their own. One Jonas Ayres, a Brookfield (Mass.) farmer, who wrote in his diary more regularly and for longer years than most people had patience to do, even in Massachusetts a century ago, found occasion to record some idiosyncrasies of the weather man in his day, which may serve as a tonic for those who are prone to talk of changing seasons and laws of nature, once inviolable, but now disrupted by the chance flirt of a comet's tail. These are a few of his entries:

- Dec. 25, 1800—Very warm; I picked up little stones.
- April 4, 1804—Sledged logs to sawmill on the crust over fences.
- Oct. 11, 1804—Eli Howe buried; snow on the ground.
- June 16, 1806—Total eclipse; dark at noon; a sudden chill; dew fell; stars to be seen at noon
- June 10, 1816—Very cold for some days; frost nights.
- July 8 and 9, 1816—Frost at night killed corn on lowlands.
- Aug. 27, 1816—At night a frost killed corn.
- Jan. 17, 1817—At night heavy rain, lightning, thunder, etc.
- June 1, 1817—This morning very cold; ice one-half inch thick.

M. T.

Transcript, BOSTON

WASHINGTON AT YALE

Not the least cherished of Yale's traditions is the story of her reception, early in the Revolution, to the great hero of that war. When, in April, 1775, the alarm of Lexington thrilled the colonies from end to end, patriotism rose to the highest pitch. Resistance to tyranny was the one theme everywhere about college. President Daggett preached it in the old Athenæum, Tutor Timothy Dwight urged it in the classroom, and in debating hall and study it inspired no end of youthful eloquence. About the first of June some seniors formed a military company, and in their cocked hats and knee breeches they marched and countermarched under the shadow of South Middle, drilling faithfully and long.

At the end of the month came Washington on his way to Cambridge, where he was to assume chief command of the army. He was properly received and escorted to his lodgings in the tavern of Isaac Beers, on the site of the New Haven House. It is a pity that this fine old hostelry has not been preserved. Here in the French war had lodged Commissary-Gen. Kilbourn and his suite, and here during the New Haven raid in 1779 that chivalrous Englishman, Gen. Garth, was quartered. Not only did Mr. Beers entertain the wayfarer here in some splendor, but in the same building he kept shop, and sold large importations of books, besides wines, gin, brandy, pewter, baize, calico, and balloon hats.

The morning after his arrival Washington and his companion, General Lee, were brought forth to receive the honors of the town. A contemporary newspaper relates with the elegant artificiality of the times "they were especially invited to inspect a company of young men belonging to the seminary of this place, who made a handsome appearance, and whose expertness in the military exercises gained the approbation of the Generals." Washington could not readily have forgotten the picture—the Green stretching away to its far boundaries, the white gables gleaming among the trees, the stiff, ancient churches, the red college walls, at once homely and beautiful in the radiance of the June morning, and then this company of strong young men of the best the colony had to offer. For them he foresaw weary marches, battles, suffering, and even martyrdom. And then again they recalled, in

weary days to come, that grave, determined face from which they had caught perhaps their first clear vision of true manhood and heroism.

A contemporary, speaking in after years of this review, says that "the Generals expressed their surprise and gratification at the precision with which the students performed the customary exercises then in use. This company then escorted the Generals as far as Neck Bridge, State Street, near the foot of Lawrence, and this was the first instance of this honor conferred on Gen. Washington in New England. It fell to my humble lot to lead that company with music. I was then a freshman in Yale College." But this was not the writer's only claim to distinction. His name was Noah Webster. A number of Yale men followed Washington away into the Boston campaign, some of them not laying down their arms until he had led them to final victory at Yorktown.

After the surrender of Cornwallis, Yale conferred the degree of LL.D. upon Washington. In a letter transmitting the diplomas, President Stiles, always a lover of ceremony, addressed him as "the Defender of Liberty and Rights of Humanity, and the Maecenas of Science and Literature," and says, "We share the public joy, and congratulate our Country on the glory of your arms, and that eminence to which you have ascended in the recent victory—under such evident and astonishing marks of divine interposition."

At a celebration of the victory in the brick meeting-house on the Green "the audience were highly entertained with an animating, pathetic, and ingenious oration by one of the tutors." A copy of it was sent on to Washington, who, in acknowledging it to President Stiles, expressed his pleasure in "the increasing reputation and ability of the seat of learning under your immediate direction."

NEW HAVEN *Journal and Courier*

A POE SECRET

New and important letters touching the early life of Edgar Allan Poe have come to light in the Library of Congress. They are among the Ellis-Allan papers, a collection of some 442 portfolios and volumes of office books, and letters of an old Richmond, Va., firm. The dates run from 1795 to 1889. John Allan, Poe's foster-father, was a member of the firm. Poe was also employed there in 1827, but doubtless received his sole pay in board and lodging from Allan.

A letter from Poe's aunt, Eliza Poe, dated Baltimore, February 8, 1813, about two years after he had been taken into the Allan family, is addressed to Mrs. Allan, asking about the welfare of Edgar. A previous letter had met with no response. It should seem that up to that date there had been no intercourse between the two families. Eliza Poe afterwards married Henry Herring. It was her daughter, and Poe's cousin, Elizabeth Herring, to whom Poe made love and wrote verses about the year 1829.

John Allan wrote a letter to Poe's brother, William Henry Poe, dated November 1, 1824, but did not destroy the copy. At that date Poe was fifteen years old, a member of the Junior Morgan Riflemen, and very likely knew something of the town. In this letter Allan wrote: "I have just seen your letter of the 25th ult, to Edgar, and I am much afflicted that he had not written you. He has had little else to do for me he does nothing & seems quite miserable, sulky & ill-tempered to all the Family—How we have acted to produce this is beyond my conception why I have put up so long with his conduct is little less wonderful. The boy possesses not a spark of affection for us, not a particle of gratitude for all my care and kindness towards him. I have given him a much superior Education than ever I received myself . . . I fear his associates have led him to adopt a line of thinking & acting very contrary to what he possessed when in England."

Allan seems to have been watchful of Poe's actions, and to have read his letters. Surely, the strife between the two which was to end in Poe's leaving his home some years later had now started. Mrs. Allan was suspicious of her husband, and not without cause. Most likely Poe kept her informed of some of Allan's secret movements. When Poe's mother died in Richmond, Allan took charge of the few family trinkets and a packet of letters. Several of these letters were always supposed to have told the story of a skeleton in the Poe family closet. Allan gave these effects to Poe, but as he was addicted to reading letters, he probably knew the contents of the entire packet. Mrs. Clemm, Poe's mother-in-law, and aunt, later on had possession of several of the letters, which she destroyed just before her death. She spoke of a dark Poe family secret, and left the impression that by her work all knowledge of this was now blotted out. Perhaps Allan wished Poe to feel that he held this family secret. In any event, there also appears in his letter to Poe's brother the following: "At least she (Rosa-

lie Poe) is half your sister, and God forbid dear Henry that we should visit upon the living the errors and frailties of the dead." Here the secret is evidently told for the first time. Poe's brother pretended to F. W. Thomas that he did not know what had become of his father, but an attorney of the family stated to Thomas that David Poe deserted his family in New York. It now seems a question whether this charge of Allan's was the cause for Poe's alleged desertion.

Poe's brother also stated to F. W. Thomas that the cause for Edgar's leaving Allan was a quarrel about the pittance of money he was receiving. This is now substantiated. Two letters to Allan from George W. Spotswood from the University of Virginia are in evidence asking for pay for use of his servant—Poe not having, what other students had, a servant to look after his room. There is also a Charlottesville, Va., tailor bill from Samuel Leitch, which seems never to have been paid. An interesting letter to Poe is one from a friend named Edward G. Crump. It is dated March 25, 1827, and shows that Poe was in financial straits. The letter was evidently received by Ellis & Allan after Poe had left Richmond on his sea voyage. It is addressed to Poe, but endorsed on the back, probably by Allan: "To E. A. Poe, alias Henri Le Rennét." This gives for the first time the assumed name of Poe for this period, and may lead to other discoveries.

In a copy of a letter to his sister in Scotland, Allan wrote under date of March 27, 1827: "I am thinking Edgar has gone to sea to seek his fortune." How different this sounds from his letter dated May 6, 1829, to the Secretary of War at Washington, in which he asserted that Poe had left him because he refused to pay his gambling debts! All the circumstances indicate that Allan was aware that Poe was on his way to Europe, or had reached there towards the last of March. The mild sentence to his sister would seem to have been in the nature of a query. He was afraid that Poe might head for Scotland and tell her a tale of Allan's misdoings.

This new correspondence is likely to have an important bearing upon the unpublished letters of Poe held by the Valentine Museum of Richmond.

I was told many years ago by the custodian of personal papers of John Allan, that there existed other documents relating to Poe, which he had never taken the time to examine. He declined to hunt them up,

and since his death his relatives have also put off an examination. But some day these papers are likely to see the light, and may bring other surprises.

RICHMOND, VA.

J. H. WHITTY

ANCIENT BALL INVITATIONS

Miss Grace Whiting has in her possession several curiosities in shape of ancient ball invitations. Some of these are printed on the back of playing cards and these old-time cards, in vogue over one hundred years ago, appear to be hand made after a somewhat crude pattern as contrasted with the cards of today. The cardboard used is a rough unglazed surface. One of the cards reads as follows:

BALL

Miss Whiting is requested to attend a Ball at Captain Pynchon's BALL ROOM on Friday evening next, at 6 o'clock.

Gt. Barrington, Dec. 24, 1810.

Another invitation was written over 104 years ago in a very legible hand on the back of the jack of hearts. Another was written on the back of the six spot of diamonds. One invitation written on the three-spot of clubs over 103 years old reads:

A BALL

The company of Miss Harriet Whiting is requested at D. & I. Leavenworth's Hall on Thursday, the 24th inst., at 5 o'clock P. M.

Gt. Barrington.

Nov. 21. 1808.

Apparently a few years later more elaborate attempts in the way of invitations were sent out, as the following, over one hundred years old, was printed in the centre of an elaborate black bordering, embracing garlands of roses and grapes intertwined leading to a covered tureen dish at the top of the oval, from the handles of which extended draperies in form of bunting caught up at the corners of the card with rosettes.

A narrow black circle surrounded the print, ornamented at the base with a cup resembling two crossed palm leaves. This elaborate ornamental invitation was printed on the back of a 2½ by 3½ playing card, the six-spot of diamonds, and reads:

Miss H. Whiting is requested to attend a BALL at the Assembly rooms in G. Barrington, on Tuesday evening, the 28th inst., drawing (dancing?) to commence at 7 o'clock.

T. Arnold,

G. H. Ives,

May 23, 1811.

R. L. Potter,

G. Pynchon,

Managers.

A final card in this collection of ball invitations is printed on a card of about the same size as the others, but not upon a playing card. Its corners are rounded and it no doubt was intended in its way for quite a swell invitation card. The invitation is printed in the centre of what might be regarded in later days as a wide wreath of mourning with a somewhat lacy edged effect.

BERKSHIRE Courier

LEXINGTON: 200 YEARS

A woman who had come home to Lexington after two years of study with a famous Italian "maestro" was asked how she enjoyed Italy. "Oh" (she drew a sigh of relief), "Italy is all right, but two years are a dreadfully long time to be away from Lexington." Let this serve as a modest text for the bicentenary celebration of a town where dwell plenty of families which have lived there upwards of two hundred years and signify their intentions of remaining a while longer. In fact, not a few of them question the need of any celebration whatsoever. A military parade, unique in its display of three hundred men in the buff and blue of the continental uniform, rumbling salutes from the crest of Granny Hill, choral singing on the Battle Green, the pealing of bells, the distinguished presence of the governor, banquets, receptions historical addresses—even a poem by Mr. Percy MacKaye—are rites which leave them intensely cold. Old Home Week? Thank you, no. Annually on the 19th of April, Lexington views a recurrence of pre-revolutionary disorders which excuse the town from inviting a whole week of peanut stands, hokey-pokey carts, pink balloons and squawkers. Again, the 19th is a holiday on which the honors must be shared with Concord, and, as the gentleman remarked on being hailed the greatest orator since Demosthenes: "Why drag in Demosthenes?" This affair is to be strictly Lexington.

The bells, the gunpowder, the parades and the speechifying are, in fact, less the main current of the celebration than its backwash. The true observance of this anniversary has been consummated in a very different and much more permanent fashion. Without bells, without gunpowder, without parades or speechifying the town has been bestirring itself to acquire lands and houses of utmost historic interest to bind into a permanent and beautiful community centre. Fronting

the Battle Green stands the brown-walled Buckman Tavern, behind a stone wall, in a grove of old pines and clustered undergrowth. The house is known to have been built (on a framework of English oak) earlier than 1690. It was the meeting-place of the Minute Men during the months of brewing insurrection; it was their rallying-point on the morning of the battle. It bears today a bullet-hole from that skirmish. For the last 150 years the house has been in the possession of the Meriam and Stetson families. Last winter, for the first time in all that period, it came into the market. The usual purchase for building development ("improvements") threatened. You rip down your historical monument, cut off the pines, and put up a nice new row of gleaming brick and plate-glass store fronts. Town enterprise.

But Lexington read town enterprise in a different sense. On condition that the Historical Society provide \$12,000, it was voted in town meeting to spend \$30,000 for the purchase of this notable building and site. Thus the area of the town green is more than doubled by the addition of three acres of the public tract, divided from the Battle Green only by the width of Massachusetts avenue. The purchase was contrived, also, to serve a double economy, since it will eventually be necessary to widen this avenue into a strip of the land now acquired by the town.

The Buckman Tavern completes the trio of historic Lexington houses now in the possession of the public or of semi-public societies. With the first, the Clark-Hancock house, now a museum of antiquities, it was more good luck than good management. The owner of the house was breathing out threatenings as usual. Rather than see it lost to the community, Rev. Carlton A. Staples bought it out of a private pocket which, as anyone knows, the Christian ministry does not enrich. Two years ago, the Munroe Tavern, which was first, on that April day, the headquarters of the British, and later their hospital, passed into public possession by the terms of a generous will.

To supplement this doubling of the town green more recently two more acres on Belfry Hill, neighboring the common, were acquired by the town. The payment, totalling \$3600 in value, was made partly in money and partly with another bit of land—a community application of the time-honored institution of the Yankee hoss-swap, in which you include the harrow and a load of potatoes. Since the antiquarian breth-

ren have never been able to satisfy themselves (or one another) as to the exact site of the Belfry itself, they have agreed to remove it from its present seclusion in a grove at the hill's foot to the summit of the eminence, a little on the theory of the sign on the Bedford road which informs a startled world that

This is the house where Paul Revere would have stopped if he had ridden this way.

Authentic or not, here is a town which has had the far-sight to secure land of not only prime historical interest, but of a value to the community which will only appear as the decades pass. Here and there we seem to be learning that prosperity is not necessarily signified by plastering down commercialism in the centre of the communities' natural beauty spots. Resume the out-moded doctrine of *laisse faire* in such matters and inquire how long before building operators would be coming forward with splendidly progressive schemes for building solid across Boston Common.

To complete the ungunpowdered observance of the bi-centenary, the Lexington Historical Society has, thanks chiefly to the labors of Mr. James P. Munroe and the diligence of Dr. Fred S. Piper, revised, re-edited and reissued Charles Hudson's scholarly "History of the Town of Lexington," bringing it down to the year 1912. Hudson's history, it will be remembered, has, ever since its publication in 1868, been accorded rank as a memorable performance—not a local history merely, but a contributory work to the chronicles of pre-Revolutionary times—and the society has been amply justified in spending \$7000 in bringing the work forward into the twentieth century. The two big maroon volumes, bearing the town seal in gilt, are a graceful and fitting observance of the second hundredth milestone.

The Lexington of today? . . . It is neither flattery nor exaggeration to say that Lexington is New England town life at its best—at the best imagined of it by passionate pilgrims from the middle and the far West with notions derived from school histories, Mrs. Mary E. Wilkins Freeman, and picture postal-cards. Near enough to a metropolis to have been disinfected of small town prejudices; far enough, hitherto, from that metropolis to have preserved its distinctive town life. Within the last ten years it was possible in this community of five thousand for a resident to speak of himself as "acquainted with everybody." No rich and no poor is literally true of Lexington. A genuine Common-

wealth. A town democracy which has, hitherto, so little departed from the spirit of its fathers that it was possible for one of the good women of this world to drop in, quite casually, on an impecunious widow, to leave a basket of provisions not at all in the spirit of charity or "uplift," but in the merest ordinary neighborly kindness. More: It was possible in Lexington as lately as two years ago, for the whole town to turn out and run to a fire. Somewhat indefinitely, it was "Mr. Smith's barn that burnt." Now when a whole town goes to see a barn burn and save part of the hay if possible, our old-fashioned brand of democracy is not quite dead. Again, the town fire department has some new apparatus of which it is very proud and wants to bring up the rear of the parade next Tuesday. Well, bless its heart! the department is going to be allowed to. We still do things town-fashion. Our town meetings are often enlivened (regrettably to some) by the most intimate personalities, not always devoid of acrimony. But of the town meeting it may be said, as Chesterton said of the family, "its value is that it is not harmonious." We are able to generate a furious controversy because certain ladies, charmed by the aristocratic sound of the name, campaigned to christen a new street "Percy Road" instead of for some humbler patriot leader. Hereditary flames of Tory hatred were fanned out of a century's smouldering. And such was, in the last decade, the simple life of the place that they do say when the bronze statue of Captain John Parker came from Mr. Kitson's studio two months before the dedication date (the 19th) it was hauled on a mud sled to the poor-farm and stored in the barn. Such are the short and simple annals of the town.

Under its patriarchal elms, among its gardens of old-fashioned flowers, on its velvety greenswards, residents meet and greet in pleasant neighborly interchange. Strangers are welcomed, not with two forefingers and a perfunctory smirk, but with a warmth of cordiality which causes them to forget that they are strangers. From the two churches that front on the Battle Green, under the flickering elm-shade and sunshine of a Sunday noon, organs still rumbling postludes, parties of family-looking folks troop this way and that across the lawns to inter-family visits in that hour of reprieve before the children shall come home from Sunday school clamoring for dinner. There is chat without gossip, good-natured banter, and, here in this quiet, placid place of elms, and lawns and old houses, a little respite out of our modern hurly-burly, for friendliness and good feeling.

New England town life at its best. Yet, when all is said, a respite. The city presses out to claim this sanctuary. It has claimed Arlington. Lexington is only the next stop. And is it, then, the highest attainable state—that of a haven safely removed from the dust and battle of the city . . . its squalor, its misery, its urgent dilemmas, its piteous needs? The shafting whirls, wheels spin, pistons thrash; the mighty social engines are lashing ahead. If these memories of two hundred years of town life, these memories of patriots willing to bleed and die for their ideals mean anything, they mean a call out of our complacent comforts to the social responsibilities of today. This, under the gunpowder and speechifying and community centering of a two hundredth birthday, is the silent, secret drama which is being enacted in Lexington as the city, overflowing its borders, floods out to claim this richless, poorless, small-town, old-fashioned democracy. This is the drama not only of Lexington; not only of New England. It is the drama of the whole nation today. . . . It is to make town life, even “at its best,” seem an ideal of yesterday.

L. P.

Transcript, Boston

HISTORIC STRUCTURES OF VERMONT

The people of Vermont, who have sometimes seemed a little backward about preserving their historic memorials—perhaps because the people are comparatively few and the memorials are numerous—have recently recognized one conspicuous opportunity by organizing the Old Constitution House Association. The Constitution House, so-called, stands at Windsor. The convention held there July 2-8, 1777, changed the name of the State from New Connecticut to Vermont and drafted a constitution which contained almost all of the provisions of the constitution of Pennsylvania, such as a unicameral legislature, a plural executive and a council of censors, adding, however, one important variation, a clause in the bill of rights providing for the abolition of slavery, which made Vermont the first State in America to take such action. The first Legislature of the new State met at the same place in March, 1778. Obviously a structure about which these associations cluster is worth keeping, and the new society plans to devote it “to literary, historical and social purposes” and in general to use it to stimulate a better knowledge of the government and institutions of the State.

It seems a little ungracious to express regret that the patriotic citizens who are about to do this should stop short of doing more, yet it is unfortunate that the State is about to lose another historic structure, the old State House, so-called, at Rutland. This was built in 1778, thus dating back to the period when Vermont, which adopted its constitution in 1777, but was not admitted to the Union until 1791, was maintaining its existence as an independent State. During these fourteen years the Government had somewhat of a perambulatory habit—the capital not having been located at Montpelier until 1808—and the building at Rutland from time to time sheltered several of its branches. The Legislature met there once at least, and it accommodated one or more sessions of court. It is not quite so sound in a physical sense as the old house at Windsor, nor is it so attractive, and, though the Daughters of the American Revolution and other societies have made attempts to save it, public interest has been slow to awaken and at last the word has gone forth that the building must be razed to make room for a residence. Probably if it could have lasted a few years longer it would have met a happier fate. The organization of a society to cherish the Windsor memorial gives indication that Vermont is learning a proper respect for its antiquities—the structures embodying history, that we do not always value while we have them, but that we miss and long for when we have permitted them to be swept away.

NOTES BY THE WAY

BARBARA FRIETCHIE'S GRAVE

Frederick, Md., May 1.—The body of the heroine of Whittier's famous poem, "Barbara Frietchie," which has rested in the old graveyard here since 1862, was removed to a vault in Mount Olivet Cemetery today. Later, it is to be reinterred beside that of her husband.

The Barbara Frietchie Memorial Association is raising funds for erecting a memorial shaft. It is expected that the memorial will be unveiled sometime this Autumn.

GIDEON FOSTER, PATRIOT

Under the auspices of the Peabody Historical Society a memorial tablet was placed, in April, to mark the birthplace of General Gideon Foster, a Revolutionary patriot of Peabody, formerly South Danvers. The tablet was unveiled by two great-grandnieces of General Foster, the Misses Dorothy and Marjorie Cowdry. Immediately afterward, the dedicatory exercises took place in the Masonic banquet hall adjoining the rooms of the Historical Society, with Hon. Robert S. Rantoul of Salem, former mayor of that city, as the chief speaker. After the exercises there was a social hour. The memorial tablet bears an inscription as follows:

GENERAL GIDEON FOSTER
was Born
In a House Which Stood Here
January 24, 1749.
He Was Captain of a Company
Of Minute Men from This Town
At the Battle of Lexington, April 19, 1775,
And Served with Distinction
In the War for Independence.
A True Patriot a Brave Soldier,
A Useful and Honorable Citizen.
He Died November 1, 1845.
Placed by the Peabody Historical Society,
April 19, 1912.

NANCY HANKS' GRAVE

American women have placed a memorial shaft, more than one hundred and four full years after her death, above the grave of the mother of Washington as—before that—American women had saved for the nation the home and burial place of Washington himself. It lacks five years of being a century since the mother of Lincoln was laid in her lonely grave. There remains yet for American women the duty and privilege of marking as it should be done, that other neglected grave of a great President's mother whose gifts of inherited character and her early training were the ruling influences that made him what he became.

Miss Susan E. Dickinson
in *Wilkes-Barre Record*

STONEWALL JACKSON'S FLAG

Trenton, N. J., July 31.—Wilbur F. Sadler, adjutant general of the New Jersey National Guard, surprised Lieutenant Governor Ellyson of Virginia while the latter was visiting at the capitol by showing him a flag which Mr. Sadler believed is the one under which Stonewall Jackson received his mortal wound. Mr. Ellyson when he returns to Virginia will try to identify the flag. If he succeeds both he and General Sadler will try to have it restored to the State of Virginia. The flag is a division corps flag and was captured at Chancellorsville, by a New Jersey regiment the day after Jackson was shot. It is of silk and was made, Mr. Ellyson thinks, by women of Virginia.

HAD AN ADVENTUROUS CAREER

William E. Cleary, aged seventy-five years, a veteran of the Civil War, died last November at his home in Norwood, Mass., after a long illness. Mr. Cleary was in the navy prior to the war and served in the Marine Corps. He enlisted June 22, 1858, at the Charlestown Navy Yard. He just missed sailing on the sloop-of-war *Levant*, which was lost. His first duty was on the *Niagara*, carrying captured slaves back to Africa. He then served on the frigate *Constellation*. Shortly after going on that ship, he was the gunner who sent a shot aboard the slave-ship *Cora*, which resulted in her capture.

Mr. Cleary was at the Island of St. Helena when the crew heard of the breaking out of the Civil War. Commodore Inman and Captain Nichols were Northerners and loyal, but Corporal Cleary's own commander, Captain Tatnall of the marines, was a Southerner, and refused to do duty and threw his sword overboard. On his return to Portsmouth, N. H., in 1862, Corporal Cleary was obliged to take his captain to prison, as he would not take the oath of allegiance. Corporal Cleary was sent back to the African station in the *St. Louis*, and nearly met the *Alabama*, in Fayal. He was discharged in 1863. He was a member of George K. Bird Post 169, G. A. R.

KITSON'S IOWA STATE MEMORIAL

The impressive Iowa State memorial at Vicksburg has been completed by the addition of the bronze equestrian group portraying a color-bearer, modelled by Henry Hudson Kitson of Boston. The fine exedra of white granite, embodying a Doric colonnade that is partly closed in by six bronze reliefs of war scenes, is designed by Guy Lowell of Boston. One of the panels shows the Seventeenth Iowa Infantry in a charge against the Confederate intrenchments at Jackson, Miss., on May 14. Another panel shows the Twenty-Fourth Iowa Infantry capturing four guns in the battle of Champion Hill May 16. The other reliefs represent respectively the Twenty-Third Iowa Infantry in a charge at Big Black River Bridge May 17 and the placing of the battle flag of the Twenty-Second Iowa Infantry on the parapet of the Confederate railroad redoubt in the charge of May 22.

WASHINGTON AT SPRINGFIELD

George Washington Chapter, Sons of the American Revolution, of Springfield, has instituted a move to suitably commemorate the historic journey of General Washington when he travelled from Philadelphia to Cambridge by stage coach in nine days, passing through Springfield on his way to Cambridge to assume his commission as commander-in-chief of the American army. He was a guest at the old Parsons Tavern, which stood on what is now Court square, Springfield. The Springfield chapter plans to have a boulder placed on the site of the old tavern, with a bronze tablet, suitably inscribed, perpetuating the place General

Washington visited. Out of the plan grew the idea of having a similar marker placed in each city through which Washington passed on his memorable trip from Philadelphia to Cambridge with his commission from the Continental Congress to take command of the American forces. At a meeting of the George Washington Chapter last week in West Springfield Edwin S. Crandon of Boston, president of the Massachusetts State Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, was present by invitation to give his views of the project, and he assured the chapter that the plan has his hearty approval, and that the State Society will cooperate in carrying it out. Mr. Crandon is also vice-president of the National Society and thereby in a favorable position to take up the plan with cities in other States. He will first take up the matter with the Massachusetts Society, and then with the State societies in New Jersey, New York and Connecticut. General Washington made the trip of 345 miles in nine days, making an average of about thirty-eight miles a day by stage coach. He departed from Philadelphia on June 23, 1775, and stopped over night in the following places: Princeton and Trenton, N. J.; New York; South Norwalk, New Haven and Hartford, Conn.; Springfield, Worcester and Cambridge. The Springfield chapter, which has a membership of 118 and is the second largest in the State, voted to raise \$100 for erection of the memorial in Springfield. (See "When Washington Came to Springfield" in the MAGAZINE for April, 1905).

RELICS OF GENERAL CUSTER

An interesting collection has recently been installed in the Hall of History in the National Museum, consisting of articles given and lent by Mrs. George A. Custer, widow of Brevet Major General George A. Custer, U. S. A.

General Custer probably is best remembered by his achievements in the many Indian fights in which he participated and by his record as an Indian scout. The collection includes a memento of this phase of his career in the form of the white buckskin coat in which he has been most often pictured as a plainsman and scout.

This coat is in excellent condition and looks as if the general had just removed it and hung it up. It has deep collar and cuffs and is heavily fringed with slashed buckskin trimming. The pockets are

made much as in modern sporting coats, while the buttons are of the regular army pattern of the period. This coat calls to mind the services which General Custer rendered to the Government in the campaigns against the Sioux in 1875 and 1876, in the last of which the battle of the Little Big Horn, he met his death.

Accompanying the coat is a yellow-plumed cavalry helmet and a buckskin gauntlet, both worn during his active services against the Indians from 1866 to 1876 while lieutenant colonel, Seventh Cavalry, U. S. A.

CHICAGO *Examiner*

THE "DEERFIELD CAPTIVE" IN VERMONT

Dedication of a tablet in commemoration of the first Protestant sermon delivered in Vermont took place recently at Bellows Falls, Vt., under the auspices of William French Chapter, D. A. R. The exercises opened with selections by Wheeler's Band and an invocation was read by Rev. A. C. Wilson, rector of Immanuel Church. Following this the regent of the chapter, Mrs. Herbert W. Mitchell, delivered the address of welcome and spoke of the significance of marking a historic spot to preserve the memory of Rev. John Williams, the Deerfield captive who preached on Sunday, March 5, 1704, surrounded by savage foes. The unveiling ceremony then took place, followed by a dedicatory address from Mrs. J. A. DeBoer, State regent, and at its conclusion Miss Elizabeth Mitchell placed a wreath of laurel leaves on the boulder. After a selection by the band, the chief address of the day was delivered by Rev. A. P. Pratt, pastor of the Congregational Church and a member of the Massachusetts Society of the Sons of the American Revolution. The exercises closed with "The Star Spangled Banner," played by the band, the audience joining in by singing.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES AND QUERIES

INTERNACIONA NOTARO E QUESTIONARO

June, 1913

Editor: EUGENE F. MCPHKE
135 Park Row
Chicago, Ill., U. S. A.

Redaktero: EUGENE F. MCPHKE
135 Park Row,
Chicago, Ill., U. S. A.

ORDER OF CONTENTS

NOTICE

TRANSLATION FROM LATIN INTO IDO

- 001. Intercommunication.
- 010. Bibliography.
- 408.9 International Language.
- 614.3 Pure Food Laws.
- 929. Genealogy.

ORDINO DI KONTENAJO

AVISO

TRADUKO DE LA LATINA ADEN IDO

- 001. Interkomunikado.
- 010. Bibliografio.
- 408.9 Internaciona Linguo.
- 614.3 Legi pri pura nutrivi.
- 929. Genealogio.

NOTICE

Correspondents will please write on only one side of paper and use a separate sheet for each subject. All communications must be signed, with address, not necessarily for publication, but as evidence of good faith. Each separate query should be accompanied by an addressed and stamped envelope. The editor does not assume any responsibility for the correctness of replies sent by contributors. Send all communications to the editor.

Those desiring the publication separate from the MAGAZINE can have it for \$2.25 a year (U. S. and Canada; other countries \$2.50).

AVISO

Korespondanti volentes skribar sur nur un latero di la papero, ed uses aparta folio por omna singla temo. Omna komunikaji mustas esar subskribata, kun adreso, ne necese por imprimo, ma nur kom garantio di bona fido. Omna singla questiono devos esar akompanat a da adresisita kuvert, e respondokuponon. La Redaktero ne asumus irga responsiveco por la respondi sendita da korespondanti. Turnes sempre a la Redaktero.

Abono: Afrankite, en Usono e Kanado, Fr. 11.50 yare. Afrankite, en altra landi, Fr. 12.50 yare.

TRANSLATION FROM LATIN INTO IDO

Those of our readers who may have even a reading acquaintance with French or any other Romance language, will probably have been able to comprehend an Ido text at first sight. In order, however, to present a concrete example of the adaptability of Ido, we are requested to give the following extract from a translation of the Latin work of Emanuel Swedenborg entitled "De Cœlo et ejus Mirabilibus et de Inferno" (in English called "Heaven and Hell"):

"KE NE ESAS TAM DESFACILA VIVAR LA VIVO QUA DUKTAS A LA CIELO KAM ON KREDAS"

"(528) Kelki kredas ke vivar la vivo qua duktas aden la cielo, qua nomesas spiritala vivo, esas desfacula, poe ke li audabis ke la homo devas renuncar la mondumo, forprenar la dezirachi di sua korpo e di la karno, e vivar spiritala, quin li komprenas ne altre kam ke li devas eskartar mondumala kozi, qui precipue esas richaji e honori ed irar kontinue en pia meditado pri Deo, pri salveso e pri l'eterna vivo, e ke li devas parirar la vivo pregante e lektante la Vorto e pia libri. Icon li supozas esar renuncar la mondumo e vivar en la spirito e ne en la karno. Ma, de multa experienco e de konversado kun anjeli, me grantesis savar ke la kazo esas tote altra, advere, ke ti qui renuncas la mondumo e vivas en la spirito camaniere aquiras por su trista vivo, qua ne esas kapabla recevar cielala joyi, nam la vivo di omnu permanas. Ma por ke la homo recevez la vivo di la cielo, lu devas vivar en la mondumo ed okupar su en aferi ed employadi ibe, e lor per morala e civila vivo recevar spiritala vivo. Ne altre povas spiritala vivo formacesar che la homo, o lua spirito preparesar por la cielo. Nam vivar interna, e ne samtempe extera, vivo, similesas lojar en domo sen fonduro, quo sucedante sive sinkas sive divenas plena di fenduri a brechi, sive shancelas til ke ol falas."

It will not be the province of the ultimate auxiliary language to usurp the place of the mother tongues in the realm of literature, nor indeed to act in any way as a substitute for the national languages of the world. There remains an enormous field of international work in which the utility and the necessity of one common auxiliary language

is daily becoming more and more evident. The failure of Esperanto with its arbitrary and purely artificial elements, is not at all discouraging to the close student of this problem, for he realizes that such a failure serves a useful purpose in pointing out what to avoid and how to find the most satisfactory and adequate solution. The ultimate auxiliary language which the world needs (and the world usually gets what it really needs), must be essentially natural, regular, logical, comprehensive, flexible and euphonious. In a word, it must be, like Ido, based upon the scientific principle of maximum internationality as governed by regularity and facility. It must be, like Ido, very easy to learn.

A new and lively interest in this matter is arousing now among many authorities in Europe, America and other parts of the world. Some practical results may reasonably be expected from the good work undertaken by the Association for the Creation of a Universal Language Union, under governmental auspices, as described in our last number.

OOI. INTERCOMMUNICATION

(123) Mr. Lewis Barrington, 12 Third Street Southeast, Washington, D. C., is "particularly interested in information bureau work and would be very glad to know of other bureaus similar to those of Boston, Providence, New York and Washington." This is a topic which should be of general interest to every one of our readers. Some account of existing means of intercommunication was given by the editor in *The Dial* (Chicago) for July 16, 1912.

(124) The Chicago Public Library is the happy possessor of a copy of the monumental work about a "World-Centre of Communication," by Hendrik C. Andersen, 3 Piazza del Popolo, Rome, Italy, which is attracting such wide-spread attention. Many are signifying their approval of the plans, in principle, by becoming enrolled as members of the "World Conscience Society" of which Mr. Andersen is also the guiding spirit.

OIO. BIBLIOGRAPHY

(125) "The International Directory of Booksellers and Bibliophiles' Manual, including lists of the Public Libraries of the World," edited by James Clegg. Ninth Edition, for 1914. Now

ready. Rochdale, England: Aldine Press, James Clegg. Cloth. Price 6 shillings 7 pence (\$1.60).

408.9 INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE

(126) Among those in the United States who urge the adoption of an auxiliary language are the following:—

Dr. *Max Talmey*, 55 West 126th St., New York City,
Prof. *H. L. Koopman*, Librarian of Brown University, Providence, R. I.

Prof. *B. Mackensen*, 923 Aganier Av., San Antonio, Texas.

W. J. Phoebus, 44 Flatbush Av., Brooklyn, N. Y.

Ward Nichols, 1306 Fitzwater St., Philadelphia, Penn.

Tamura Hilworth, 2415 20th St., Washington, D. C.

614.3 PURE FOOD LAWS

(127, 48) Adv. P. Matera, 159 Viale Stupinigi (Zetti Varro), Tornio, Italy, is thanked for a very interesting reply, in Ido, regarding the Italian pure food laws.

929. GENEALOGY

(128) Boddie Family. A gentleman compiling a history of this family in the United States, with incidental references to the English ancestry, would be grateful for any assistance.

(129) Mc Neal family of U. S. may also be included in the above mentioned book on the Boddie family.

(130) Brown and Pike Families:—Mr. F. Worth Gardner, of Woodbridge, N. J., is compiling a genealogy of the Brown Family and is seeking information concerning one John Brown of Kentucky whose daughter Clarissa Harlowe married Zebulon Montgomery Pike, the discoverer of Pike's Peak. John Brown seems to have been a cousin of Isabella Brown who married Col. Zebulon Pike, in New York City, Apr. 17, 1775, and was the mother of Zebulon Montgomery Pike, born 1779. Some of these facts are recited in the printed "Records of the Pike family Association of America," 1906. Can any reader supply additional data about the Brown family?

929. GENEALOGY

(132) Oil portraits of Captain Moses Guest (born 1755) and of his wife Lydia Dumont (married 1792) are in the possession of their descendant, Mrs. Dr. J. C. Sharpe, of Blairstown, N. J., according to her brother, the Rev. Walter H. Reynolds, Greensburg, Indiana.

(133) Denton. Charles K. Williams, Attorney, Sioux City, Iowa, is interested in the English history of the Denton family.

(134) MOUNTAIN:—The publications of the Bucks County Historical Society (Doylestown, Penn.) do not seem to contain the surname Mountain; but it appears that Richard Mountain married Mary Paulin at Falls Monthly Meeting of Friends, September, 1711. His name appears in the civil records for some years after that date, according to letter (Oct. 1, 1912), from Mr. Warren S. Ely, Secretary of the Society.

PIKE FAMILY

(135) PIKE FAMILY:—Miss Frances C. Dickerman, of Pike, New Hampshire, is the Treasurer, and acting Secretary of the Pike Family Association, of America which holds a reunion every two years. The large genealogical collections made by the late Dr. Clifford L. Pike, of Saco, Maine, formerly Secretary of the Society, have never been published in full but copious extracts therefrom have appeared in print, not only in the "Records" of the Society but elsewhere.

ADDENDUM

(136) Dr. G. W. Nasmyth is the Director of the International Students Bureau, 40 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston, Mass., which intends at some later date to commence the publication of an International Student Review.

~~DUE DEC 15 '32~~

~~DUE DEC 15 '32~~

DUE JAN 1 '50

3 2044 090 112 095